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HART CRANE AND THE LITTLE MAGAZINE

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis examines Hart Crane's oeuvre through a detailed appraisal of his publishing history in little magazines. The main contention of this thesis is that Crane's relationships with his periodical publishers shaped his poetic development, and that new light is shed on these works through their recontextualisation in their original periodical contexts. This raises a secondary question: how does Crane's publication in journals and his relationships with editors affect the reception of his poetry, and can patterns established in his immediate reception be found in later criticism. This study takes a new approach in its methodology, both in relation to existing studies of Crane, and as a way of dealing with a writer's body of work. By examining, as D. F. McKenzie has put it, 'the sociology of texts' and their 'processes of transmission, including production and reception', forgotten contexts of Crane's poetry are able to emerge. As well as uncovering new works by Crane, an examination of Crane's periodical networks highlights the influence of particular strands of Modernism on his development, such as 'post-Decadent' forms advanced in Greenwich Village journals, the American Futurist experiments active in American magazines based in Europe, and the proto-Surrealist experiments with metaphor that inform Crane's own associative aesthetic. This study also traces the interconnections between poetic form and publishing. Crane's long poems, *The Bridge*, 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' and the 'Voyages', were all published in fragments in a number of different journals, and these publishing formats are found to be aesthetically significant for these texts, and articulate Crane's wider interest in fragment and collage forms.

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Abbreviations

References to works in periodicals are given in full by title, volume, number, date and page number, and are abbreviated after first mention. Unless otherwise stated, all references to Crane's poetry have been taken from their first magazine publication, with the full reference given on first mention. Where poems were published in more than one journal, the journal title is given to ensure clarity. The three versions of 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' are cited in footnotes as follows: 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' in *Secession* in September 1923 is referred to as 'Faustus I', while 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' in *Secession* in the Winter 1924 number is referred to as 'Faustus II'. 'Part II' of 'Faustus', published in *Broom* in January 1923 uses its *Broom* title, 'The Springs of Guilty Song', abbreviated to 'Springs'. On footnote citations for the 'Voyages': the 'Voyages' appeared in *The Little Review* using a different numbered sequence, but to avoid confusion, the 'Voyages' are cited according to their familiar numbers from *White Buildings* with the following clarification: 'Voyages III' ['II' in *TLR*]. 'Voyages I' and 'Voyages IV' are cited in footnotes according to their original publication titles, 'Poster' and 'Voyages' (respectively) with the *White Buildings* number added in brackets: 'Poster' ['I'].

Complete Poems refers to *The Complete Poems of Hart Crane: The Centennial Edition*, ed. by Marc Simon (New York: Liveright, 2001). *Poems and Letters* refers to *The Complete Poems and Selected Letters of Hart Crane*, ed. by Langdon Hammer (New York: Library of America, 2006). *OML* refers to *O My Land, My Friends: The Selected Letters of Hart Crane*, ed. by Langdon Hammer and Brom Weber (New York: Four Walls, 1997). *Letters* refers to *The Letters of Hart Crane*, ed. by Brom Weber (New York: Hermitage House, 1952). *Manuscripts* refers to Kenneth Lohf *The Literary Manuscripts of Hart Crane* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1967).

References to archives have been abbreviated according to the name of the collection and location, as indicated below. The Hart Crane Papers at Columbia University Special Collections and at the Ohio State University are cited according to their arrangement: alphabetically in boxes without folder numbers. All other archives are cited using box and folder numbers. Letters between Munson and Crane consulted at the Crane Papers (New York) are scans of originals from Hart Crane Correspondence to Gorham Munson and George Bryan (Columbus).

Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library (Princeton).
Hart Crane Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Special Collections (New York).
Hart Crane Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, The University of Texas (Austin).
Hart Crane Collection, Kelvin Smith Library Special Collections, Case Western Reserve University (Cleveland).
Hart Crane and Family Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Kent State University (Kent).
Hart Crane Correspondence to Gorham Munson and George Bryan, Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Ohio State University (Columbus).
Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, American Literature Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (New Haven).
Matthew Josephson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library (Princeton).
Harriet Monroe Papers, Special Collections and Research Center, The University of Chicago (Chicago).
Ezra Pound Papers, American Literature Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (New Haven).
The Papers of *The Virginia Quarterly Review,* Archives and Special Collections, The University of Virginia (Charlottesville).
Morton Dauwen Zabel Papers, Special Collections and Research Center, The University of Chicago (Chicago).
Carl Zigrosser Papers, Kislak Center for Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).

Statement of copyright

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Introduction

During his sixteen-year career, Crane amassed 102 publications in 26 journals, and published two volumes of poetry, *White Buildings* (1926) and *The Bridge* (1930).[1] He appeared in a roll call of transatlantic periodicals that were crucial to the development and dissemination of different strands of literary modernism between his first publication in September 1916, and the 27 April 1932, when Crane jumped to his death from the S. S. Orizaba, en route from Mexico to New York.[2] The central question of this thesis is the extent to which Crane's relationships with his periodical publishers, editors and coteries can be seen to shape his poetry, and whether examining his poems in their original periodical contexts sheds new light on his works. A secondary, but crucial, question posited by this study is how Crane's publishing practices affected the reception of his oeuvre, and if the legacies of these immediate appraisals determined the direction of later criticism. This thesis aims to re-evaluate Crane's poetic development, to elucidate individual works, and to re-examine patterns in his reception by recontextualising his poetry within the wider literary contexts of his magazine publications. In drawing on a wealth of little studied material, during the course of this research, a number of previously undocumented works by Crane have been discovered. As well as offering new readings of Crane's poetry, illuminated by his magazine contexts, this thesis adds new material to Crane's known body of work.[3]

This thesis breaks new methodological ground in its assessment of a poet's oeuvre and career in the context of their magazine publishers, considering, as D. F. McKenzie has put it, 'the sociology of texts' and their 'processes of transmission, including production and reception.'[4] A rigorous analysis that takes into account all of Crane's periodical publications has not, hitherto, been conducted; this thesis is the first study of its kind both for Crane, and as a method for approaching a writer's oeuvre. This dissertation does not treat periodicals as the incidental repository of a work, or, by contrast, treat the literature published within the journal as incidental to the historical or sociological study of a journal, or group of journals, in question. This study provides a coherent approach to its analysis of

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[1] See Appendix 1. *Key West* was in its final stages of assembly, but was not published separately. The group of poems first appeared in 1933 in *Complete Poems*, ed. by Waldo Frank (New York: Horace Liveright, 1933). Crane, *White Buildings* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926); *The Bridge* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930).

[2] John Unterecker, *Voyager: A Life of Hart Crane* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1969), pp. 742-761.

[3] Previous bibliographies: Joseph Schwartz and Robert C. Schweik, *Hart Crane: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); H. D. Rowe, 'Hart Crane: A Bibliography', *Twentieth Century Literature,* 1.2 (July 1955), pp. 94-113.

[4] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 12-13.

Crane's poetry and his periodical networks. In the chapters that follow, Crane's poetry is examined in the context of the character of the journals in question, and their aesthetic programmes, the details of his individual contributions, reviews of his work, practical issues related to small magazine publishing, correspondence with editors and associated contributors, and editors' public interventions and private comments. This approach uncovers not only the buried original contexts of Crane's poetry and his immediate reception, but illustrates how publishing arrangements can affect poetic form, as in *The Bridge*, 'Voyages' and 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen', which were all first published as fragments. This process of fragmentary publication is a feature that this study has found to be especially significant, and related to Crane's formal aesthetics.

A nuanced account of Crane's poetic development emerges from teasing out his association with different strands of literary modernism on both sides of the Atlantic. Throughout his career, Crane was wary of 'assumptions of [his] literary ambitions in relation to one group, faction, "opportunity", or another', and his publishing practices reflected his attempts, with varying levels of success, to resist group classification.[5] As well as revealing Crane's involvement with 'post-Decadent' circles in Greenwich Village, and 'localist' poetry (minor strands of literary modernism noted in previous studies of North American journals), this thesis identifies a particular aesthetic of American Futurism specific to the 'exile' journals.[6] The American Futurist mode is marked by its development through heated debates between *Broom* and *Secession* and its aesthetic borrowed from, but interrogated, European experiments in Dada and proto-Surrealism, experimenting with the inclusion of 'machine age details' and collage forms, particularly juxtaposed, surreal metaphors, but with both tropes used to depict distinctly American landscapes and cityscapes, as in Crane's own 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' and, later, *The Bridge*.[7]

This examination of Crane's publishing history in little magazines is divided into four parts. The first deals with Crane's early publications in Greenwich Village journals where Crane's career began. The second deals with Crane's interest in American Futurism, prompted through his involvement with the 'exile' journals, *Broom*, *Secession*, and *Gargoyle*,

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[5] Crane to Munson, 25 May 1922, *O My Land*, pp. 86-88 (p. 88). See Appendix 1, Table 6 for a full list of his publications.

[6] 'Post-Decadent' is a term used by Deborah Longworth in 'The Avant-Garde in the Village: *Rogue*', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines,* II, ed. by Andrew Thacker and Peter Brooker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 465-482. On 'localism' see Eric B. White *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); 'exile journals' being Malcolm Cowley's term in *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), p. 97.

[7] See Chapter II, 'Tensions over American Futurism', pp. 60-67. Here I am using the term 'collage' to mean the assembly of 'objects' of Crane's own making, rather than found objects, as in stricter definitions from the visual arts ('an abstract form of art in which photographs, pieces of paper, newspaper cuttings […] are placed in juxtaposition'). 'collage', *OED Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/36204?redirectedFrom=collage> accessed 20. 11. 15.

and tracks his gradual incorporation of 'machine age' tropes into his poetry, and the influence of proto-Surrealist experiments with juxtaposed images on his own 'logic of metaphor', a phrase Crane first used publicly in *Poetry* in October 1926.[8] The third chapter investigates contemporaneous reactions to these developments by analysing Marianne Moore's famous edit of 'The Wine Menagerie' for *The Dial*, which betrays her own scepticism towards Crane's 'logic'. This chapter also posits that Harriet Monroe's comments in 'A Discussion with Hart Crane' in *Poetry* not only made explicit the criticisms present in Moore's edit, but formulated an influential critical language for dealing with Crane. The final chapter on *The Bridge* ties together the elements discussed in the preceding chapters through a detailed analysis of Crane's decision to publish the poem in scattered fragments in seven journals, with the first fragments of *The Bridge* published in London's *Calendar of Modern Letters*, and sections following in *The Criterion*, the Paris based *transition*, and in the U.S. in *The Dial*, *Poetry, The Saturday Review* and *The American Caravan*. This section argues that this decision was not only part of the formal programme of *The Bridge*, but that it had a profound influence on the way the poem was received.

Utilising Bourdieu's concept of the 'literary field' (see Figure 1), this thesis understands Crane to have been operating within a shifting 'field' of interconnected journals, jostling for territory within a dynamic literary marketplace.[9] This 'territory' was in the form of cultural rather than economic capital, given that the majority of these journals were run at a significant financial loss and were founded without the expectation of breaking even.[10] However, the precise nature, in Bourdieu's terms, of the 'cultural capital' for each journal is different. For instance, at *Secession*, there was an avant-garde cachet in a highly restricted, specialised audience, with a print run of 500, airing the internal arguments of the coterie.[11] For *The Dial*, there was value in a broader appeal, and a significantly higher readership, (9,500 in 1922) which necessitated the opposite approach to Munson's, as Scofield Thayer and James Sibley Watson Jnr. put it, by avoiding the coterie debates that would turn *The Dial* into a 'specialist enterprise'.[12] Crane's unique trajectory through the literary field makes his engagement with these publications revealing not only of his own

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[8] The term 'machine age' was used as early as 1915 in Paul L. Haviland, 'We are Living in the Age of the Machine', *291*, 1.7-8 (September 1915), p. 1. See footnote 4 in Chapter II. Crane's 'logic of metaphor' is outlined in both Crane and Harriet Monroe, 'A Discussion with Hart Crane', *Poetry*, 29.1 (October 1926), pp. 34-41 and in his 'General Aims and Theories', *Complete*, pp. 160-164.

[9] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), pp. 29-144.

[10] *The Dial* had a 'cumulative deficit' of $220,000 between 1920-1922 paid for by its editors, Scofield Thayer and James Sibley Watson. See Lawrence Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 89; Munson financed *Secession* himself, as did Joseph Kling at *The Pagan*. See Munson, *The Awakening Twenties: A Memoir History of a Literary Period* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), pp. 75, 159-78.

[11] Munson, Ibid.

[12] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91; Thayer and Watson, 'Statement of Intent', box 9, folder 309, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

poetic development and reception, but of some of the field's wider machinations. This thesis illustrates the dynamics of cultural capital operating between, as in Chapter III, the broader appeal of *The Dial* versus the highly specialist, avant-garde 'exile' journals. Elsewhere, and as detailed in Chapter II, Crane's involvement with arguments between journals had a significant impact on his poetry. Crane's own position was caught between Gorham Munson and Matthew Josephson, then editing *Secession* and *Broom*, respectively, as heated debates over American Futurism were conducted between their journals. Reading these arguments, and articulating his own responses in correspondence to both editors, prompted Crane to begin experimenting with these ideas in his own work. As discussed in Chapter III, Crane's association with specialist coteries, the product of his links to avant-garde and small readership journals, shaped his contemporaneous reception. While this 'outsider' status has been embraced by Crane's more recent critics,[13] Harriet Monroe in *Poetry,* Max Eastman in *Harper*'s and William Rose Benét in *The Saturday Review,* and Genevieve Taggard in *The New York Herald Tribune* complained that Crane's poetry was 'intellectualist' and 'unintelligible to all but specialists', while 'clapping' for his work came, wrote Benét, from only the 'most select circles'.[14]

Examining Crane's engagements with his editors and magazine publishers enables an appraisal of the development of his 'logic of metaphor' and his literary influences that can encompass not only the more distant, and often cited, influences of Stéphane Mallarmé, Arthur Rimbaud, William Blake or P. B. Shelley, but foreground the importance of his close engagement with contemporaneous avant-gardes throughout his career.[15] Reassessing Crane's early poetry among his first publishers highlights developments that were prompted by his reading of contemporaneous experiments. Chapter I considers Crane's first publications in Greenwich Village, and examines the influence of their particular brand of 'post-Decadent' modernism on his poetry by looking at the shift between Crane's imitative experiments in Decadence with 'C33' (*Bruno's Weekly*) and 'Carmen de Boheme' (*Bruno's Bohemia*) to 'Echoes' and 'Modern Craft' in *The Pagan* that, taking after poetry published in *The Pagan*, showcased his 'yellow book sympathies' using

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[13] Brian Reed, *Hart Crane: After his Lights* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), p. 197; Daniel Gabriel, *Hart Crane and the Modernist Epic: Canon and Genre Formation in Crane, Pound, Eliot and Williams* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), p. 26.

[14] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', *Poetry,* 33.1 (October 1928), pp. 32-38 (pp. 35-36); Max Eastman, 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', *Harper's Magazine,* 158.947 (April 1929), pp. 632-39; William Rose Benét, 'The Phoenix Nest', *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 3.36 (2 April 1927), p. 708; Genevieve Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber: *White Buildings*', *The New York Herald Tribune* (29 May 1927), p. 4.

[15] In his monograph on Crane, John T. Irwin conducts a thorough investigation of Crane's more distant influences, *Appollinaire* [sic] *Lived in Paris, I Live in Cleveland, Ohio: Hart Crane's Poetry* (Baltimore: John's Hopkins, 2011). See also J. W. Butterfield *The Broken Arc: A Study of Hart Crane* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1969) and Paul Giles, *The Contexts of The Bridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Imagistic forms.[16] Taggard noticed this in Crane's early poetry, and titled her review of *White Buildings*: 'An Imagist in Amber'.[17] Crucially for Crane, *The Pagan* was particularly interested in poems that utilised practices of poetic collage associated with Imagism: a 'collage of images' that eschews 'formal, visual or semantic ordering', as Andrew Mark Clearfield has put it. For Crane, though, this was tempered by his interest in Symbolist forms of associative metaphor.[18] Crane distanced himself from *The Pagan* in 1919, which he had also helped edit, and this thesis understands this move as testament to his desire to move away from the sincere experiments in 'post-Decadence' and Imagism that characterise his early verse.

As his poetry developed, Crane's assimilative mode became underpinned by his use of collage and fragmentary forms, which extended to the micro-structures of his poetry through the 'logic of metaphor'. This first section begins to uncover the genesis of one of the most, apparently, problematic features of Crane's verse—judging by patterns in criticism of his poetry. Crane's mature poetry was 'raised' on his principle of the 'logic of metaphor'.[19] This use of metaphor has been variously described as 'confounding', 'a dense thicket', 'misleadingly termed', 'illogical', and 'so snarled, so dense that one can despair of ever comprehensively analysing its purpose and function', and testament to Crane's 'relentless desire' not to 'make easy peace with the reader.'[20] Through attention to the influences operating on Crane in magazines, and his own publishing practices, this thesis observes, uniquely, that an interest in poetic forms of collage and fragments was crucial to the development of Crane's poetry. This is tracked through the chapters of this study, beginning with the origins of the logic in Crane's early verse in Chapter I, through to its application on a large scale in the fragmentary publication of *The Bridge*.

Chapter II continues tracing the development of the 'logic' while also working to explain another foundational element in his poetry, his shift from the 'absinthe sipping women' in 'yellow lace' of his poetry in the late 1910s, to Helen sat in her 'street car' in 1920s New York city, and work patterned by 'machinery', 'advertising', 'aeroplanes' and

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[16] Harold Hart Crone [sic], 'C33', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.15 (23 September 1916), p. 1008; Harold Hart Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), p. 2; Crane, 'Echoes', *The Pagan*, 2.5 (October-November 1917), p. 39; Crane, 'Modern Craft', *The Pagan*, 2.9 (January 1918), p. 37.
[17] Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber', p. 4.
[18] Andrew Mark Clearfield, *These Fragments I Have Shored: Collage and Montage in Early Modernist Poetry* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), p. 127.
[19] Crane, 'General Aims and Theories', *Poems and Letters*, pp. 160-164 (p. 163).
[20] Monroe, 'Discussion', pp. 34-41 (p. 35); Lee Edelman, *Transmemberment of Song* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 8, 14; Angela Beckett, 'The (Ill)ogic of Metaphor in Crane's *The Bridge*', *Textual Practice*, 21.1 (2011), pp. 57-80; Brian Reed, Hart Crane's Victrola', *Modernism/Modernity*, 7.1 (2000), pp. 99-125 (p. 102); Colm Tóibín, *New Ways to Kill Your Mother* (London: Viking, 2012), p. 246.

subway systems.[21] American Futurism, as expressed in these journals, was developed through heated debates between, first, the editors of *Secession*, Munson and Josephson, but later spread to discussions conducted between a quarrelsome set of magazines including *Broom*, *1924*, *S4N*, *The Little Review*, when Josephson edited its Spring-Summer 1926 number, and *Contempo*, when these arguments were reinvigorated in the early 1930s.[22]

Chapter II, building on Crane's initial interest in the 'previous generation' of French poets in Chapter I, examines his 'updating' of his European influences, as he engages with proto-Surrealist experiments in juxtaposed metaphor as published in the 'exile' journals, *Gargoyle*, *Broom*, and *Secession*. An analysis of Crane's involvement with the 'exile' journals reveals his gradual re-assessment of the use of 'machine age' tropes in his work. The 'logic', as Crane's correspondence with Munson reveals, enabled Crane to place 'machine age' subjects paratactically in his verse without these details becoming, as he saw it, 'surface phenomena'.[23] Examining the genealogy of the 'logic' helps to clarify its 'purpose and function'.[24] Further, correspondences with experiments with poetic collage, pushed to their extremes in the fragmentary forms of *The Bridge* (discussed in Chapter IV), are found to be instructive in unpicking individual instances of the 'logic' in Crane's poetry, while, as discussed in Chapter III, initial reactions to the 'logic' can still be seen to bear their marks on its interpretation.

The development of the 'logic' and its interpretation by Crane's critics is a crucial thread that runs through this thesis as a whole. Chapter III focuses on the reactions of Marianne Moore, then editor of *The Dial*, and Harriet Monroe, editor of *Poetry*, to Crane's associative mode. As the examples of the 'logic' and *The Bridge* demonstrate, considerable light is shed on common themes in Crane's criticism by examining contemporaneous responses to developments in his poetry in periodicals. Chapter III builds on the contextualisation of Crane's poetry among the 'post-Decadent' and 'exile' journals in Chapters I and II by illustrating how his position in the literary field, and his associations with these journals, affected how he was received at *The Dial* and *Poetry* in the mid 1920s. The shifts in Crane's poetry are neatly illustrated by the increasing unease of his relationship with *The Dial*, which began fruitfully in the early 1920s with Crane's restrained first submissions, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' (widely, yet misleadingly, heralded as

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[21] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, l. 28; 'Aims', *Poems and Letters*, p. 160; 'Faustus II', pp. 1-4 (p. 1), ll. 1-3; 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, 82.6 (June 1927), pp. 389-90, l. 17; 9; 'The River', *Second American Caravan* 2 (1929), pp. 113-17, ll. 1-17; 'The Tunnel', *The Criterion*, 6.5 (November 1927), pp. 398-404 (p. 398), ll. 22-3.

[22] See footnote 33 (II).

[23] Crane, 'Aims', *Poems and Letters,* p. 161.

[24] Crane, ibid., p. 161; Crane to Munson, 19 April 1922, *Letters*, p. 84.

Crane's first 'mature' poem by his critics, since it was his first poem published in *The Dial*[25]) and 'Praise for an Urn: to E. N.'.[26] However, after Crane began experimenting with the associative, juxtaposed metaphors of the 'logic', he received consistent rejections from this journal.[27] Crane's difficulties with *The Dial* were famously exacerbated by Moore's edit of 'The Wine Menagerie', retitled 'Again', published in the May 1926 number.[28] Showing her own belief in 'the connection between criticism and creation', Moore attempted to rationalise 'The Wine Menagerie' by cutting the poem from 49 to 18 lines.[29] Later in the year, Monroe agreed to publish 'At Melville's Tomb' with the caveat that Crane provide an explanation for his 'confused mixed metaphors'. The result, 'A Discussion with Hart Crane', was published in the same October 1926 number.[30] Monroe's comments in the 'Discussion' made explicit the criticisms that were implicit in Moore's edit and helped to establish a critical language for dealing with Crane's poetry. Both editorial interventions reveal not only the tastes of the editors reflected in their journals, but, through their framing of Crane's poetry as 'confused' and lacking in 'discipline', of trends in Crane's contemporaneous and later reception.[31] Reviews of *White Buildings* published early in 1927 exhibit these same accusations of 'confusion' and 'affectation' and, as Taggard notes in her review of *White Buildings*, the 'Discussion' was crucial to her appraisal of the volume. This chapter notes that Crane's publications in *The Dial* and *Poetry* facilitated his appearances in the 'smart journals', *The Saturday Review*, *The Nation* and *The New Republic*,[32] but also suggests that the critical patterns established by Moore and Monroe and reiterated in contemporary reviews, and in later commentary in *Poetry* by Winters and Tate, can still be detected in criticism of Crane.[33]

The assessment of the genesis and publishing history of *The Bridge* in Chapter IV reveals that Crane deliberately split the poem into fragments published in seven journals. The form of *The Bridge*, when viewed as emerging from this periodical context, sees Crane experimenting with the literary fragment, and processes of reassembly. This thesis takes a

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[25] Erroneously because it has yet to fully demonstrate the 'logic' that is central to Crane's mature poetry. See footnote 17 (Chapter IV).
[26] Crane, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', *The Dial*, 68.4 (April 1920), p. 457; 'Praise for an Urn: to E.N', *The Dial*, 72.6 (June 1922), p. 606.
[27] See Appendix 1, Table 7.
[28] Crane and Marianne Moore, 'Again', *The Dial,* 80.5 (May 1926), p. 370.
[29] Moore, '*The Sacred Wood*', review of T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (1920), *The Dial*, 70.3 (March 1921), pp. 336-39, (p. 336).
[30] Crane and Monroe, 'Discussion', pp. 34-41.
[31] Monroe, 'Discussion', p. 35; Moore, '*Hymen*', review of H. D., *Hymen* (1921), *Broom*, 4.2 (January 1923), pp. 133-35 (p. 133).
[32] 'Smart journals' being Jane Heap's term in 'Exposé', *The Little Review*, 8.2 (Spring-Summer, 1922), pp. 46-7.
[33] Tate, 'Hart Crane and the American Mind', *Poetry*, 40.4 (July 1930), pp. 210-16; Yvor Winters, 'The Progress of Hart Crane', review of Crane, *The Bridge* (1930), *Poetry,* 36.3 (June 1930), pp. 153-65 (p. 164).

new view of Crane's publishing practices as forming an aesthetic programme for *The Bridge*. The poem self-consciously rejects a linear, narrative or progressive structure in favour of a collaged, almost Cubistic, dismissal 'of the traditional viewpoint perspective' where the component parts, or fragments, are linked through the repetition of images, rhythms and phrases.[34] This ties the overall fragmentary form of the poem to Crane's longstanding interest in collage and fragment forms, stemming from his first publications in 'post-Decadent' journals, and traceable through his use of allusive fragments (foregrounded, somewhat perversely, to great effect by Moore's rearrangement of Crane's allusions in 'Again') and his 'logic of metaphor'. In Chapter III common criticisms of Crane's 'illogic', 'confused' metaphors and 'obscurity' are traced back to Moore and Monroe, and debunked using Crane's own comments in the 'Discussion'. Similarly, in Chapter IV the reception of *The Bridge* is considered as a product of its fragmentary, scattered appearances in journals.[35] The form of this poem has proved contentious in criticism of Crane, with Winters's influential review in *Poetry* asserting its 'lack of coherent plot', and 'formal unity'.[36] Such appraisals go to the roots of the common assumption of the poem's 'failure'.[37] Here the reception of *The Bridge* as a 'confused', failed epic is linked to its 'processes of transmission'.[38]

An examination of Crane's periodical publishers has uncovered new works by Crane, enabled the clarification and the production of an accurate record of his publishing history in the appendices, including a catalogue of rejections. Crane's two 'Briefer Mentions' in *The Dial*'s March 1924 issue and 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock' (as 'Religious Gunman', taking his pseudonym from 'Faustus') in *1924,* are valuable discoveries (reproduced in Appendix 2).[39] Both 'Briefer Mentions' are useful in showing Crane's increasing interest in avant-garde forms, as discussed in Chapter III, while 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock' shows Crane stepping into Munson's argument with Amy Lowell over *Secession*'s interest in experimental forms. In *A Bibliography of Hart Crane*, Schwartz and Schweik erroneously attribute the first section of 'A Last Chord' to Crane, when, on examining the journal, it is clear that he wrote (and initialled, 'HC') a prose piece 'Tragi-

[34]'Cubism', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45476?redirectedFrom=cubism> accessed 20. 11. 15.
[35] Crane, 'Discussion', p. 37.
[36] Winters, 'Progress', p. 164.
[37] The idea of Crane's 'failure' is discussed in Chapter IV. See footnote 333 (IV) for a (non-exhaustive) list of articles and books on Crane that use the word 'failure' in their titles.
[38] Tate, 'American Mind', pp. 215, 211.
[39] Crane, 'Briefer Mention: Romer Wilson, *The Grand Tour'*, review of Romer Wilson, *The Grand Tour of Alphonse Marichaud* (1923), *The Dial*, 76.3 (March 1924), p. 198; 'Briefer Mention: Thomas Moult, *The Best Poems of 1922*', review of Thomas Moult, *The Best Poems of 1922* (1923), ibid., p. 200; Crane as 'Religious Gunman', 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock', *1924*, 1.4 (December 1924) pp. 136-39.

Comique' that follows the 'Last Chord' section in the review pages.[40] Because of the significant nature of this error, 'Tragi-Comique' is reproduced under 'Previously undocumented works by Crane' in Appendix 2, iv. While examining *1924*, it emerged that Crane published a version of 'Voyages IV' in the journal as 'Voyages'. This variant does not appear in either of Crane's bibliographies, and is mentioned only once in Crane criticism, in Marc Simon's *Samuel Greenberg, Hart Crane and the Lost Manuscripts*.[41] This version of the poem appears in Appendix 3 in 'Reproductions of uncollected works by Crane', alongside Moore's edit, 'Again'. Crane's rejections are catalogued in Appendix 1, Table 7 using Crane's published letters and archival material from both Crane and his journal publishers. Records of his rejections are crucial to understanding the full context of his relationships with magazines in the literary field. For instance, details of Crane's rejections help to characterise his difficulties with *The Dial*: Crane received twenty-seven rejections from the journal, including two years of consistent rejections during his period of association with the 'exile' journals, and when he first began to structure his poetry around the 'logic'.[42]

This study contributes both to the field of Crane studies and to wider modernist and periodical studies more generally in its original re-evaluation of Crane's poetry through these contexts, the attention it brings to his little known magazine publishers, its detection of significant shifts in the literary field, and its account of neglected strands of literary modernism, such as the 'post-Decadent' literary tastes of Greenwich Village, and the American Futurism of the 'exile' journals. This thesis establishes a new and coherent framework for dealing with Crane that helps to debunk stubborn patterns of misunderstanding in his criticism, while its careful characterisation of his publishers, and the relationships between journals within the literary field, offers a nuanced and detailed account of key developments in little magazine culture between 1916 and 1932.

[40] Schwartz and Schweik, *Bibliography*, p. 113; Crane, 'Tragi-Comique', *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), pp. 54-56; 'A Pagan Knight', 'The Last Chord', *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), pp. 53-54.
[41] Marc Simon, *Samuel Greenberg, Hart Crane and the Lost Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California, 1978), p. 61.
[42] See Appendix 1, Table 7.

I

'An Imagist in Amber': Early Publications and Greenwich Village

> He proceeds from one mixed metaphor to another, image on image, and we almost allow him his way with us because he makes, together with a confusion of images, a perfect gaunt and stately music. But so far as I can see he has not yet written a poem. Instead, he writes the effect that the fact of an actual poem produces—on him or someone. His work is effect, not cause.
>
> Genevieve Taggard 'An Imagist in Amber' review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *The New York Herald Tribune* (29 May 1927), p. 4.

'Well I hope Kling will be able to sell out for the price of dinner', Crane remarked of *The Pagan* in January 1920. 'Most of all', he continued, 'that he sells out, and rids his own arms, as well as the public's, of that fetid corpse […] The last issue is the worst ever, and I don't think there are lower levels to be reached.'[1] The contempt that Crane developed for Kling's 'Magazine for Eudaemonists', as this letter to Gorham Munson shows, is initially surprising. Crane appeared seventeen times in Kling's magazine within three years. This amounts to twenty percent of Crane's total publications over his sixteen-year career. Crane's *Pagan* publications included ten poems, critical prose, reviews and short editorial segments, and additional appearances in both the 1918 and 1919 *Pagan* anthologies.[2] While this high number of appearances is partially explained by the fact that Crane was able to be more selective when approaching prospective publishers later in his career, he did, at least initially, find that *The Pagan* represented his own aesthetic interests.[3] He even helped to edit the journal from April 1918 to April 1919.

The Pagan was instrumental in establishing Crane's reputation as a young poet on the New York literary scene and was a significant influence on his poetic development. The fact that Crane chose not to include *The Pagan* poems in *White Buildings* is testament to the fact that he found them immature. Reading Crane's first publications in their Greenwich Village contexts reveals how these early poems were in dialogue with a particular brand of

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[1] Crane to Munson, 28 January 1920, *Letters*, p. 31.

[2] 1,000 copies of each anthology were printed. 'Announcement No.1', *The Pagan*, 2.10 (February 1918), back pages. Crane, 'Fear', *A Pagan Anthology,* ed. by Joseph Kling (New York: *Pagan* Publishing Company, 1918), p. 18; 'Forgetfulness', *A Second Pagan Anthology,* ed. by Joseph Kling (New York: Pagan, 1919), p. 17.

[3] See Chapter IV on Crane's increasing selectivity.

'post-Decadent' poetry that assimilated fin-de-siècle and contemporaneous Imagist experiments, and was active, to varying degrees, in his first journal publishers, *Bruno's Weekly, Bruno's Bohemia*, and *The Pagan*.

As Crane's aesthetic developed, he no longer felt that his poetic interests were well represented by *The Pagan*. While Crane's irritation with *The Pagan* may have been piqued by Kling's rejection of 'To Portapovitch' in 1919, it would be an error to ascribe his dismissal of *The Pagan* as simply the result of a personal disagreement or his anti-Semitism—Crane frequently made anti-Semitic remarks about Kling in his letters to fellow *Pagan* assistant editor, Munson.[4] After almost exclusively publishing with the journal at the beginning of his career, Crane's reassessment of *The Pagan*, (see Table 6) was more to do with developments in his poetry that reflected wider changes in literary tastes, as the geography of the American literary 'renascent period' shifted away from the Village to, in Crane's case, the 'exile' journals of the early 1920s founded by Americans in Europe.[5] In his memoir of the 'lost generation', *Exile's Return,* Malcolm Cowley writes that by 1920, aided by the post-war economic boom, the 'bohemia' and 'radical' politics of the Village had become a fashionable 'doctrine'. The post-war Village was fuelled by 'the ethic of a young capitalism' and its principles of 'self expression and paganism' had, Cowley added, become marketable products: 'Greenwich Village standards, with the help of business, had spread through the country'.[6]

By 1919 the aesthetic of *The Pagan* with its 'Yellow Book sympathies' was passé. Cowley's and Munson's memoirs each recall this change in tastes, while letters from Crane to Carl Zigrosser, the editor of a prospective publisher, *The Modern School*, based in New Jersey, makes a similar point: 'when here before the war I resided in the village, but at last I have made the break, I really like my new location, out a ways, much better.'[7] Crane's 'break' is both geographical and testament to the development of his poetry because the Village, and its magazines, were so associated with this particular dominant aesthetic. For instance, Alfred Kreymborg remarked that another Village publication, *Rogue*, was dominated by 'esthetes, satirists, dandies, poets'.[8] Crane's verse developed through his attention to literary fashions, and his careful reading of journals. In accordance with wider shifts in the field, and the founding of the 'exile' journals experimenting with American Futurism (see Chapter II for a full discussion of this), the decadent tropes of 'woven rose vines' in 'C33' (published September 1916) and 'bright peacocks drink[ing] from flame pots'

[4] As has been the case in the few studies of Crane that have briefly mentioned *The Pagan*. See: Mariani, *Broken Tower*, pp. 41-42. Crane to Munson, 23 April 1918, *O My Land*, pp. 13-14 (p. 14); Crane to Munson, 28 Jan, 1920, *Letters,* pp. 30-31.
[5] The American literary 'renascent period' was a phrase used in *The Seven Arts*. See: James Oppenheim and Waldo Frank, 'Editorial', *The Seven Arts*, 1.1 (November 1916), pp. 52-56 (p. 52).
[6] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, pp. 60-64.

in 'Carmen de Boheme' (written in 1915-1916, published in 1918) become 'A shift of rubber workers press[ing] down | South Main' in 'Porphyro in Akron', and later, developed out of 'Porphyro', 'the street car device' in 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen'.[9]

Crane began looking for new outlets beyond the Village as his interest in *The Pagan* waned in 1919. He had tried expanding his available publishing networks in 1917 with his first publication in *The Little Review* with 'In Shadow', and a poem (title unknown) accepted by William Carlos Williams at *Others* for a 'miscellaneous issue'.[10] Williams told Crane that 'I like your things very much', but gently suggested that he 'put it in some other magazine' as the journal was appearing irregularly and, apparently, publishing Crane's poem was not a priority.[11] Despite living above their office in 1917, which led to his introduction to a number of writers, including Matthew Josephson, Crane had only minimal success with *The Little Review*.[12] He spent 'a series of almost always exasperating but stimulating evenings' at the journal's new office on 24 West Sixteenth Street (having relocated from Chicago), and Anderson published 'In Shadow' in December 1917 and a critical piece, 'Joyce and Ethics' in July 1918.[13] However, it was only after he began losing interest in *The Pagan*'s aesthetic that Crane began seriously attempting to form publishing relationships with other journals that would better reflect the new directions of his poetry (as shown in Table 6 in Appendix 1).

In 1919 Crane began submitting to other journals in earnest, sending poems to *The Liberator, The Modern School, The Modernist* and *The Dial.*[14] These periodicals, although still fairly local, avoided the self-conscious 'bohemianism' of the 'post-Decadent' modernism fashionable in Greenwich Village, as proposed by Crane's first publishers, *The Pagan* and *Bruno's Weekly*.[15] After corresponding with Zigrosser, 'To Portapovitch' appeared in *The Modern School* in March 1919, and eight months later, 'Interior', 'Legende' and 'North Labrador' were printed in James Waldo Fawcett's 'radical' and 'international' *Modernist.*[16] In

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[7] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 76; Cowley, *Exile's Return*, pp. 48-55; Crane to Zigrosser, c. late January 1919; 12 February 1919, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
[8] Kreymborg, *Troubadour,* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957), p. 171.
[9] 'C33', p. 1008; 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2; Porphyro in Akron', *The Double Dealer*, 2. 8-9 (August-September 1921), p. 53.
[10] Crane, 'In Shadow', *The Little Review*, 4.8 (December 1917), p. 50; 'Joyce and Ethics', *The Little Review*, 5.3 (July 1918), p. 65.
[11] Williams to Crane, 17 April 1917, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[12] Matthew Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: 1962), p. 34.
[13] Unterecker, *Voyager*, p.89; 'Joyce and Ethics', *The Little Review*, 5.3 (July 1918), p. 65.
[14] See Appendix 1, Tables 6 and 7.
[15] *The Pagan* and Bruno's journals are both marked by their continual reference to their own 'bohemian' outlooks. *Bruno's Weekly* has 38 mentions of 'bohemia/bohemian' in its run. Data collected from Princeton's Blue Mountain Project < http://bluemountain.princeton.edu> accessed 11.03.14. For *The Pagan*: Kling, 'A Greenwich Village Idyll', *The Pagan*, 2.10 (February 1918), pp. 33-37.
[16] Crane, 'To Potapovitch [sic] (de la Ballet Russe)', *The Modern School*, 6.5 (March 1919), p. 80; 'Interior', 'Legende', 'North Labrador', *The Modernist*, 1.1 (November 1919), p. 28.

1920, Crane had his first publication in *The Dial* with 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' (his first 'mature' poem in the eyes of some of his critics).[17] This publication in *The Dial* marks a shift in Crane's career. In 1922, *The Dial* had a much higher readership than Crane's first publishers at 9,500, in contrast to 3,100 for *The Little Review*, and 500 for *The Pagan*.[18]

In his memoir, *Awakening Twenties*, published posthumously in 1985 but assembled from journal articles first published in the 1930s, Munson describes *The Pagan*'s office as a kind of 'training-school' for the writers and editors who would go on to found, edit and contribute to the tendenz journals of the 1920s.[19] And, despite his disenchantment with the Village literary scene, Crane's poetry remained influenced by a central tenet of Kling's editing policy: the assimilated arrangement of contributions that drew on fin-de-siècle literary tastes, including reprints from 1890s and current experiments. This assimilative editing practice associates *The Pagan,* Bruno's journals and *Rogue* with a cluster of unique journals interested in both fin-de-siècle and contemporary experimental forms. In the August 1916 number, for instance, Kling printed his own bacchanalian 'Credo' which exalts his love of 'wine' and women ('your woman has left you […] I'll love another'), and his translation of Octave Mirbeau's 'The Pocketbook' alongside experiments in Imagism and vers libre, such as Alter Brody's 'Next Door': 'Yesterday| Our neighbor's little girl| Fell over the fire-escape| Into the yard', while his second number printed Arthur Schnitzler's play, 'Bachanal' [sic] alongside A. M. Dillon's 'Chanson Triste' which begins: 'In the park | On the hard damp ground'.[20] Kling included early American Futurist works, such as George Lewys's 'San Francisco Under Fog' (printed in a number Crane helped to edit), but although he acknowledged Dadaist poetic forms and experimental method this was accompanied by a clear suspicion of arbitrary formal experimentation.[21]

By 1919, Crane felt that *The Pagan* was 'getting too tame' and, according to Munson, had developed an 'insensitivity to the new writers of *The Little Review'*. The implication here, then, is that beginning with 'In Shadow', Crane graduated to Anderson's magazine with its more impressive canon of writers—and a set of tastes that was more closely affiliated with

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[17] This idea that 'Love Letters' marks Crane's poetic maturity is widespread, see: Mariani, *The Broken Tower*, p. 36; Butterfield, *The Broken Arc*, p. 48; Christian Wiman, *Ambition and Survival, Becoming a Poet* (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon, 2007) p. 177; Allen R. Grossman, *The Long Schoolroom: Lessons in the Bitter Logic of Poetic Principle* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1997), p. 126; *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology*, ed. by Emory Elliot, Linda K. Kerber, A Walton Litz (Prentice Hall,1991), p. 1120.

[18] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91; Munson recalls *The Pagan* having a print run of 500 in *Awakening Twenties*, p. 75.

[19] Munson, 'The Fledgling Years' in the *Sewannee Review*, 40.1 (January-March 1932), pp. 24-54; *Awakening Twenties*, p. 77.

[20] Crane, 'Modern Craft', p. 37; Kling, 'Credo', *The Pagan*, 4.1 (August 1916), p. 9; Arthur Schnitzler, 'Bachanal [sic]', *The Pagan*, 2.1 (June 1916), pp. 13-31; A. M. Dillon, 'Chanson Triste', *The Pagan*, 1.2 (June 1916), p. 41; Alter Brody, 'Next Door', *The Pagan*, 1.4 (August 1916), p. 47.

[21] George Lewys, 'San Francisco Under Fog', *The Pagan*, 3.3. (July 1918), p. 26.

Crane's.[22] In actuality, Crane was never particularly closely affiliated with *The Little Review*. Anderson wrote that she was 'never a great fan of his poetry', and commented in her memoirs that her discussions with Crane mostly focused on 'this prejudice of mine'.[23] Nonetheless, for Munson and Crane, this publication did seem symbolic of a shift in Crane's career—something Anderson herself appeared to acknowledge on accepting the poem, having rejected all of his previous submissions, writing: 'Dear Hart Crane, POET!'[24]

Crane's interests shifted decisively from the Symbolist tropes of 'Echoes' and 'The Hive' to the post-symbolist Surrealist-informed 'logic of metaphor' and use of 'machinery', 'planes' and 'cinemas' and 'streetcars' in his later poetry. Crane's career with *The Pagan* was formative in the young poet's development and an analysis of his relationship with this journal is crucial to understanding the rapid shifts that his poetry underwent in the late 1910s. Unpicking these strands of influence illuminates Crane's rationale for excluding *The Pagan* and *Bruno* poems from *White Buildings*. Crane may not have felt that Kling's eclectic editing policy pushed him to hone his new aesthetic interests, but it did offer Crane a hospitable testing ground, allowing him a public forum for his early poetry.

i. Experiments in Decadence: *Bruno's Weekly* and *Bruno's Bohemia*

Crane briefly found an affiliation between his poetry and *Bruno's Weekly*. As he would later tell an interviewer, he had submitted two pieces of 'adolescent juvenilia', 'C33' and 'Carmen de Boheme' to *Bruno's Weekly* in a 'white hot fury' in 1916.[25] He regretted this impulsive decision, particularly after Bruno printed 'Carmen' two years after its submission in a new journal, *Bruno's Bohemia*, 'devoted to Life, Love, Letters'.[26] Tellingly, Bruno credits the poem to 'Harold H. Crane', a pen name Crane discarded early in 1917 for 'Hart', his mother's maiden name.[27]

Bruno, the 'Barnum' and marketeer of Greenwich Village bohemia published an array of short lived, cheaply produced magazines from his 'garret on Washington Square'.[28] Bruno's journals were, as Stephen Rogers has noted, given 'impetus' by 'the spirit of

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[22] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, pp. 75-79.
[23] Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War* (New York: Greenwood, 1930), p. 156.
[24] Anderson to Crane, 'This […] leaves me without the slightest feeling of having read anything emotionally [important?] or interesting', n.d., c. 1917; Autumn 1917, box 1, Crane Papers (New York).
[25] Interview in Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 107.
[26] Crane's interview makes it clear that these poems were submitted together (as Weber has noted, too, in *Hart Crane*, p. 34). Bruno uses the pen name Crane used only in 1916, 'Harold H. Crane' and was generally unscrupulous in his attention to the mores of publishing, as Stephen Rogers comments in 'Village Voices', *Modernist Magazines,* II, pp. 445-464.
[27] Advert for *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), back pages.
[28] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 445; 'Frontispiece to Greenwich Village', *Greenwich Village*, 2.1 (23 June 1915).

Decadence' fashionable in the Village.[29] The Village's brand of modernism, as expressed in journals including the *Bruno's*, *The Pagan*, *The Quill,* and *Rogue* was built around 'form[s] of cultural exchange' with London and Paris of the 1890s.[30] *Bruno's Weekly* included 106 references to Wilde and sixteen drawings by Aubrey Beardsley in its run between July 1915 and December 1916.[31] Through *Bruno's Weekly* Crane would have been exposed to excerpts from Frank Harris's biography of Wilde, Wilde's own unpublished letters, his 'Impressions of America', and 'Quantum Mutata'. Crane's own 'C33' appeared in a feature 'Oscar Wilde: Poems in His Praise'.[32] Elsewhere Bruno reprinted translations of Charles Baudelaire's 'The Stranger' (L'Étranger') and the 'The Window' ('Les Fenêtres'), an autograph manuscript of G.K. Chesterton's 'A Song of Gifts to God', aired discussions on Arthur Symons's literary criticism, and frivolous articles such as 'The Importance of Neckties: The History of the Cravat', taken from an 1829 manual.[33] Despite this preoccupation, the *Bruno's* were not aesthetically reactionary when it came to contemporaneous literature. Rather, Bruno's journals were, as Rogers puts it, 'transitional' and this 'cross cultural' approach provided 'a basis on which emerging modernist writers were able to find an outlet for their work.'[34]

Writing in his memoir of the period, Cowley described 'the Greenwich Village idea' as underwritten by the dual currents of 'radicalism' and 'bohemia'. That is, a combination of 'socialism, free verse, anarchism, syndicalism, free verse—all these creeds were lumped together by the public, and all were physically dangerous to practice.'[35] *Bruno's Weekly* and *The Pagan* (which was based at the New York Socialist Party headquarters[36]) reflect this 'lumping together' in their editorial practices, a style Munson described as somewhat chaotic, and 'whatever policy *The Pagan* had was only Kling's personal taste'. *The Pagan* was particularly interested in nineteenth-century literature, and Munson commented that Kling 'liked the Russian realists of 1900, the Yiddish humourists of the Café Royal, and the Continental and English aesthetes of the Yellow Book period.'[37] 'In the Village', wrote

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[29] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 446.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Data collected using the Blue Mountain Project; Rogers 'Village Voices', p. 459.
[32] Frank Harris, editor of Pearson's and Wilde's biographer, was a friend of Bruno's. Harris, 'Oscar Wilde', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.1 (17 June 1916), pp. 780-781; Wilde, 'Hitherto Unpublished Letters by Oscar Wilde', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.11 (11 March 1916), pp. 543-44; Wilde, 'Quantum Mutata', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.18 (29 April 1916), p. 655; Wilde, 'Impressions of America', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.21 (20 May 1916), pp. 724-26; Crane, 'C33', p. 1008.
[33] Baudelaire, 'The Stranger', *Bruno's Weekly*, 1.13 (14 October 1915), p. 115; Baudelaire, 'The Window', ibid., p. 126; G. K. Chesterton, 'A Song of Gifts to God', [MS reproduction], *Bruno's Weekly*, 9.2 (26 February 1916), p. 503; H. Le Blanc, 'The Importance of Neckties: The History of the Cravat', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.11 (11 March 1916), p. 3; H. Le Blanc, *The Art of Tying the Cravat: Demonstrated in Sixteen Lessons Including Thirty Two Different Styles Forming A Pocket Manuel* (New York: D. A. Forbes, 1829).
[34] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 446.
[35] Cowley, *Exile's Return,* p. 66.
[36] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 13.
[37] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, pp. 75-77.

Cowley, 'we read Conrad. We read Wilde and Shaw'.[38] These Village trends were not, however, entirely homogenous. In July 1915, Arthur Stieglitz's *291* maintained that 'we have moved on from the age of symbolism'.[39] The *Bruno's*, meanwhile, were marked by a continual interest in Decadent literature, but tempered by contributions from Bruno's 'poeta laureatus of Greenwich Village', Kreymborg, Richard Aldington, war poetry from (among others) H. Thompson Rich and George A. C. Keller, and Marianne Moore's 'Holes bored in a workbag by scissors'.[40] Another of Bruno's journals, *Greenwich Village*, included poems from H. D. and F. S. Flint alongside Aldington's explanatory piece 'The Imagists: Written for *Greenwich Village*'.[41] Comprehensive reviews of contemporary journals appeared in *Bruno's Weekly* covering literary and radical political magazines based in the U.S. and Europe, including *Others*, *In Which*, *The Minaret*, *The Little Review*, *Poetry*, *The Egoist*, *Expression*, *Der Sturm* (with reprints translated from the German), *The Phoenix*, and regular mocking appraisals of *Contemporary Verse*, which Bruno noted was 'anything but contemporary' and an outlet for 'bad poets'.[42] While he was helping to edit *The Little Review*, Ezra Pound suggested the latter journal, or any other 'intellectual slums', for a publisher for Crane's 'consummate milk pudding' poetry.[43] In addition, Bruno published Djuna Barnes's *Book of Repulsive Women* and several important Imagist texts in his 15¢ chapbook series, including Aldington's *The Imagists*, Kreymborg's *Mushrooms*, *To My Mother* and *Edna, the Girl of the Street* which got Bruno, as reported in *The Pagan*, 'in-dutch [with] the Comstock gang again' and briefly jailed for publishing 'obscene' material.[44]

Bruno's marketing of Greenwich Village bohemia extended to using his magazines as vehicles to advertise paid tours of his 'garret' where visitors could watch 'bohemian' painters at work, while space was dedicated to adverts for studio spaces for rent and publishing ventures, such as Egmont Arens's, 'Handbook of Bohemia', *The Little Book of Greenwich Village* (also advertised in *The Pagan*) which documented the cultural activities of

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[38] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 20.
[39] M. De Zayas, 'New York N'a Pas vu D'abord...', *291*, 1.5-6 (July-August 1915), p. 4.
[40] Bruno, 'Books and Magazines of the Week', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), p. 66; Aldington, 'A Poem', *Bruno's Weekly*, 9.2 (26 February 1915), p. 514; Moore, 'Holes Bored in a Workbag by Scissors', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.17 (7 October 1916), p. 1137.
[41] Aldington, 'The Imagists', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), pp. 54-57; H. D. 'Huntress', ibid., p. 57; Aldington, 'Two Poems', 'Easter', ibid., p. 58; F. S. Flint, 'Springs', ibid., p. 59.
[42] Bruno, 'Books and Magazines of the Week', *Bruno's Weekly*, 1.22 (18 December 1915), pp. 298-99 and 1.15 (30 October 1916), p. 162.
[43] Pound to Crane, n.d. 1918, folder 310, box 8, Hart Crane Collection, (New Haven). Anderson described *Contemporary Verse* as an 'ancient tumbril reconstructed by children' in 'Bring Out Your Dead: Braithwaite's Death-Cart', *The Little Review*, 3.4 (June-July 1916), p. 24.
[44] Barnes, *The Book of Repulsive Women: 8 Rhythms and 5 Drawings* (New York: Bruno's Chap Books 1915); Aldington, *The Imagists* (New York: Bruno's Chapbooks Special Series, January 1915); Kreymborg, *Mushrooms: 16 Rhythms* (New York: Bruno's Chapbooks, 1915); Kreymborg, *To My Mother: Ten Rhythms* (New York: Bruno's Chapbooks, 1915); Kling as "Ben S", 'Why Complain', *The Pagan,* 1.10 (February 1917), p. 42; Kingham identifies Ben S. as Kling's pseudonym *Commerce, Little Magazines and Modernity*, PhD thesis (De Montfort University, 2009), p. 163.

the quarter, and Bruno's own *Adventures in American Bookshops*, and *Fragments from Greenwich Village*, a collection of his contributions to the eponymous magazine.[45] Bruno, Eric B. White comments, 'identified his target market', as 'thousands of people […] who are getting acquainted with our metropolis from the top of the bus,'[46] and *Greenwich Village* sold the atmosphere, so attractive to Crane in his early poetry, on its frontispiece:

> GREENWICH VILLAGE! Refuge of saints condemned to life in the crude hard realistic world, your playground of sensation—thirsty women with a yellow streak and of men that mistake the desire to sow wild oats for artistic inclination. GREENWICH VILLAGE! Where genius starved and gave the world the best it had, where fortunes were squandered and fortunes made, where heavens of earthly bliss prevail and tortures of hell are suffered, where night and day cease to be the regulating element of the world, where new ideas are developed into systems, into systems that will be overthrown tomorrow and substituted by others that will not live any longer.[47]

As Rogers notes, the 'conscious notion of bohemianism, popularized by Puccini's opera' created a 'taste for bohemian style among the bourgeoisie' and, so, Bruno (born Curt Joseph Kisch near Prague) provided a marketable 'simulacrum of Continental European Bohemia.'[48] Bruno's relentless marketing of his publishing ventures has earned him a reputation as a 'sleazy […] untalented hanger on', 'a petty and disreputable profiteer in poetry and publishing', underlined by Barnes's unflattering portrayal of the editor as Felix Volkbein in her 1936 novel, *Nightwood*.[49] Bruno was heckled on 23 January, 1916 in 'one of Mr Munsey's Sunday paper[s]' for being a charlatan with 'a taste for bohemianism'.[50] These views, as well as moralising, betray a false assumption that his desire to make a profit on his ventures somehow prohibited his ability to publish high quality content. This is erroneous, particularly in light of Bruno's discovery of Crane, early publications of Moore, Munson, Cowley, Barnes, Aldington, and his attention to Kreymborg.

Crane had been exposed to Greenwich Village bohemia via these journals, sold at Laukhuff's bookstore, while still living with his grandparents in Cleveland, Ohio.[51] His interest in the culture of the Village was reflected both in his poetry and in his decision to

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[45] Arens, *Little Book of Greenwich Village* (New York: Washington Square Book Shop, 1918); Bruno, *Adventures in American Bookshops, Antique Stores and Auction Rooms* (Detroit: The Douglas Book Shop, 1922); Bruno, *Fragments from Greenwich Village* (New York: Guido Bruno, 1921).
[46] White, and Bruno quoted in, *Localist Modernism,* p. 23.
[47] Bruno, 'Frontispiece to Greenwich Village', *Greenwich Village*, 2.1 (23 June 1915).
[48] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 450.
[49] Andrew Field quoted in Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 446; Christine Stansell, quoted in Brooker and Thacker, 'Introduction: Greenwich Village', *Modernist Magazines*, II, pp. 439-444 (p. 441); Barnes, *Nightwood* (New Directions: New York, 2006).
[50] Bruno, *Fragments from Greenwich Village*, p. 28; Munsey owned a number of newspapers. David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900* (New York: Peter Land, 2010), p. 21.
[51] Unterecker, *Voyager*, pp. 46-51.

send 'C33' and 'Carmen' to *Bruno's Weekly,* rightly supposing that Bruno would be sympathetic to the two poems. Bruno's use of these contributions highlights his own distinctions between his interest in fin-de-siècle and contemporary experiments in poetry. This throws into relief the straightforward, naïve quality of these early poems, with some of their content derived directly from *Bruno*'s *Weekly*. As Weber suggests, Crane may have been prompted to write 'C33' after reading an article serialised in the journal in January and February 1916, 'The Story of Oscar Wilde's Life and Experience in Reading Gaol' by "His Warder"'.[52] Bruno seems to have found 'C33' and 'Carmen' derivative to the point of providing obvious illustrations for prose pieces on Village culture, rather than publishing the poems in their own right, as with Moore's 'Holes bored in a Workbag by the Scissors', for instance.

As Deborah Longworth has noted, a 'post-Decadent' aesthetic was popular in the Village, in particular with the 'Patagonians', a group associated with Arensberg and *Rogue*. Rather than direct imitation, this advocated a:

> self styled 'post-Decadent' formation combining a 'smart sophistication that spoke young and modern New York as much as it did fin-de-siècle/fin du globe of 1890s London' […] a term that signalled at once a moving on from, and parodic appropriation of, the tropes and rhetoric of Aestheticism and Decadence that continued to influence many writers.[53]

Crane's early poetry was by no means 'parodic' in contrast to later poems such as 'The Wine Menagerie' (see pp. 131-132). Hardly articulating 'young and modern New York', 'C33' appeared as a simple homage in a feature on 'Oscar Wilde: Poems in his Praise' while 'Carmen' punctuated a double page feature by the editor titled 'Bohemia Over Here; Bohemia Over There', on the relationship between war-time Prague, 'the ancient city of bohemian Kings', and New York's 'quartier Latin', Greenwich Village.[54]

'C33' appeared with 'truths' and 'Crane' carelessly misspelt (as 'Harold H. Crone') alongside four other poems: 'Ode to Oscar Wilde', 'Oscar Wilde', 'Impressions of Oscar Wilde' and 'To Oscar Wilde'.[55] Although Crane's poem is fairly straightforward in its emulation of Decadent ideas, and while Crane does not quite clinch the 'parodic' attitude identified by Longworth as popular in these Village journals, the poem is more agnostic about Wilde as a literary influence than its placement in this feature suggests. This context buries Crane's point in this poem; 'C33' appears as a 'poem in praise' rather than a poem in

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[52] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 34; Anonymous, 'The Story of Oscar Wilde's Life and Experience in Reading Gaol', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.4 (22 January 1916), pp. 400-01.
[53] Longworth, 'The Avant-Garde in the Village', p. 468.
[54] Bruno, 'Bohemia Over There', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1. (March 1918), p. 1; 'Bohemia Over Here', ibid., p. 2.
[55] William Salisbury, John W. Draper, Hart Crane, Jubal Agmenon and Allan Norton, 'Oscar Wilde: Poems in His Praise', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.15 (23 September 1916), p. 1008.

dialogue with its influences. Despite Bruno's relatively enlightened attitude towards Wilde's homosexuality, printing 'C33' in this context as a simple 'homage' to Wilde buries the anxieties Crane expresses in the poem relating to his own sexuality.[56] 'He' becomes a cipher for the young poet in his meditation on Wilde's incarceration ('penitence, must needs bring pain') in May 1895 after his trial for, quoting from his charges, committing 'acts of gross indecency between men'.[57] The first stanza of 'C33' opens with direct references to *Salomé:*

> He has woven rose-vines
> About the empty heart of night,
> And vented his long mellowed wines
> Of dreaming on the desert white
> With searing sophistry.
> And he tented with far thruths [sic] he would form
> The transient bosoms from the thorny tree.[58]

Crane borrows directly from Wilde's repeated images of 'roses in the garden', 'redder than roses', 'vines' and 'vineyards' in *Salomé*.[59] Crane's 'roses' and 'lamp' lit 'heart of night' allude to Beardsley's illustrations, including 'The Mysterious Rose Garden', printed in the January 1895 number of *The Yellow Book*.[60] 'Wine' is central to the Decadent imagery of *Salomé*, and Crane may have had this in mind with 'vented his long mellowed wines', which, while being a literal description of airing wine before it is drunk, 'vent' understood as breathing or speaking, recalls Salomé to Jokanaan: 'Thy voice is wine to me'.[61] Crane also makes an attempt to suggest Wilde's 'bitter self contempt', as suggested in the 'Experience in Reading Gaol' article, as the 'transient' imaginings of Wilde in his cell become a 'thorny tree'.[62] With 'searing sophistry' Crane steps away slightly from emulation of Wilde. Rather, what follows is a somewhat agnostic comment. '[T]ransient bosoms form the thorny tree' is deliberately difficult to annunciate; the sentence is forced into stutters because of its own over patterning, and in the following stanza, 'head' and 'shed' are forced into an uncomfortable, but obvious, rhyme with the syntax twisted to accommodate the rhyme: 'with a new light shed'.[63]

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[56] Mariani believes that Crane's first affair with a man dates from late in 1919. See, *Broken Tower*, pp. 60-61.
[57] Michael S. Foldy, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde: Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 41.
[58] Crane, 'C33', p. 1008, ll. 1-8.
[59] Wilde, *Salomé*, (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane, 1912), pp. 4, 23, 26, 62.
[60] Aubrey Beardsley, 'The Mysterious Rose Garden', *The Yellow Book*, 4 (1895), p. 14.
[61] Crane, though, avoids the Christian resonances in the Wilde, as in: 'To change water into wine, to heal the lepers and the blind'. Wilde, *Salomé*, pp. 71, 49.
[62] Unsigned, 'Reading Gaol', p. 400.
[63] Crane, 'C33', p. 1008, ll. 8-9.

The publication of 'Carmen de Boheme' in *Bruno*'s *Bohemia* reinforces the aesthetic concerns of the journal. Crane's use of Georges Bizet's 1875 opera, *Carmen*, is analogous to the way that, as Rogers notes, tropes from Puccini's *La Bohème* were absorbed into Greenwich Village literary culture as cultural touchstones—there was, for instance, a local tea room named after the opera.[64] Crane's poem sits between ekphrasis and a sketch of a social gathering, presumably in the Village. The poem's voice is cast as that of an onlooker: it gives us both a description of the opera-goers and their surroundings encoded according to contemporary tastes, while also containing moments from Bizet's opera, such as the gypsy wagon 'wiggling' away in the last stanza. The cultural markers of *Carmen* and the bohemian party scene become indistinguishable in a way that mirrors the magpie-like 'bohemia' of the Village, and are neatly illustrated by Bruno's magazines.

In 'Carmen' the young poet is self-consciously constructing this bohemian posture gleaned from articles that romanticised the Village's literary and social scenes, such as 'Greenwich Village: the Romance of one Night', 'In Our Village: Djuna's Exhibit', which described 'the American Beardsley's' exhibition 'on the walls of Bruno's garret' (where Bruno also held poetry readings), and 'Greenwich Village in Modern Fiction', a series which emphasised the Village as a literary centre.[65] As Bruno writes in 'Bohemia Everywhere':

> The public in general seems to think that this term applies to every man who wears long hair and a flowing black necktie, indulges in the absorption of alcoholic liquids, smokes cigarettes and has rather lax views about the relations between men and women, and then, in his leisure hours, he perhaps paints or writes poetry.[66]

Crane, writing in Cleveland, imagines the poem's narrator as an observer of this Village crowd with the opening lines:

> Sinuously winding through the room
> On smokey tongues of sweetened cigarettes, —
> Plaintive yet proud the cello tones resume
> The andante of smooth hopes and lost regrets.[67]

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[64] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 486.
[65] Bruno, 'Greenwich Village: The Romance of One Night', 1.13 (14 October 1915), p. 127; 'In Our Village: Djuna's Exhibit', 1.14 (21 October 1915), pp. 142-43; 'Greenwich Village in Modern Fiction', 1.16 (6 November 1916), p. 169; 'Poetry Reading', advert, *Greenwich Village*, 2.1 (23 June 1915, p. 41.
[66] Bruno, 'Bohemia Everywhere', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), p. 3.
[67] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), p. 2, ll. 1-4, 28. There is a striking similarity between the tone of the early poems of Crane and of Eliot (which Crane would not have had access to at this stage, and is perhaps more a mark of similar formative influences). For instance, similarities between 'Carmen' and Eliot's 'yellow evening' and 'Oh, these minor considerations' in 'First Caprice in North Cambridge', in T. S. Eliot, *Inventions of the March Hare: Poems 1909-1917*, ed. by Christopher Ricks (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1996), p. 13.

The 'absinthe sipping women' with their 'sweetened cigarettes', 'yellow […] lace', 'bright peacocks' and 'wine hot lips' reinforce the coded notions of Greenwich Village 'bohemia' in Bruno's article published next to the poem.[68] In 'Carmen', Crane is not yet in control of the associative and allusive forms utilized in 'The Wine Menagerie' and is, rather, lifting his language from Decadent London. In his attempt to sketch out a 'bohemian' social gathering Crane directly reproduces details from *Carmen* and tropes associated with Wilde and Beardsley. While generally making frequent appearances in Wilde's writing, 'Bright peacocks drink[ing] from flame pots' recalls the 'white peacocks' from *Salomé* and Beardsley's front cover design for the play, and accompanying illustration, *A Peacock Skirt*.[69]

In his description of 'Carmen' Crane seems to be remembering a poem from Wilde published in *Bruno's Weekly* in April 1916, 'La Mer'. In this case, Crane's borrowing from Wilde creates a disorienting description. Taking the 'yellow' and 'ravelled lace' from Wilde, Carmen appears in the final lines with her skin like 'Yellow', 'ancient lace'.[70] This makes it seem like Carmen has developed a grotesque skin complaint, or her apparition is, even more grotesquely, a rotting corpse. Carmen is stabbed and killed by the jealous José in Bizet's opera, and this is alluded to in stanzas 4-5 in Crane's poem with the 'sweep, —a shattering', and '[d]isquieting', 'barbarous fantasy', 'the pulse in the ears' and the final pun on 'Morning'.[71] Crane's description of Carmen develops into a more confused image than desired. But he is, to interpret the metaphor more charitably, hinting at the transparency of the material, judging from the detail of Carmen's apparition as still 'mystic' and dream-like:

> Bent wings, and Carmen with her flaunts through the gloom
> Of whispering tapestry, brown with old fringe:—[72]

Given 'face' and 'lace' make up a rhyming couplet in the final lines, the search for the rhyme may also have determined the image.[73]

Crane's use of punctuation in 'Carmen' shows glimpses of later poems, as realised in the 'Voyages', where this technique is crucial to their rhythms and silences. In 'The Wine Menagerie' Crane uses caesura to introduce asides from the speaker, '—I am conscripted to their shadows' glow', and as directions explaining the narrative, '—From whom some whispered carillon assures'.[74] In later poems these devices are used to subtly change

[68] Ibid., l. 4
[69] Ibid., l. 5; Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 72, Beardsley, *The Peacock Skirt*, in Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 2. Also see, among many, 'the great milk-white Peacock' in 'The Birthday of the Infanta', or the 'peacock's tail' in *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. by Merlin Holland (London: Collins, 2003), pp. 223-235 (p. 229), pp. 17-159 (p. 117).
[70] Wilde, 'La Mer', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.14 (1 April 1916), p.3, ll. 11-12.
[71] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, ll. 10-28.
[72] Ibid., ll. 22-23.
[73] Ibid., ll. 27-28.
[74] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete Poems*, pp. 23-24 (p. 23), ll. 8, 17.

intonation, creating apparent exhalations after long, uninterrupted phrases ('Blue latitudes and levels of your eyes—'), or to signal that the poem is opening in medias res in 'Voyages II' (—And yet this great wink of eternity').[75] In 'Carmen' caesuras are Crane's rather clumsy way of imitating the sudden sounds, tense pauses, and movements of the opera with 'The slit, soft-pulling; — — — and music follows cue' and 'There is a sweep,—a shattering, —a choir'.[76] Elsewhere, Crane layers punctuation unnecessarily with 'old fringe:— ', 'sweetened cigarettes, —' and:

> Carmen! Akimbo arms and smouldering eyes; —
> Carmen! Bestirring hope and lipping eyes; —
> Carmen[77]

Presumably the mixtures of colons, commas and dashes are intended to create pauses and, pauses followed by lists ('eyes; — | Carmen') but the visual effect is confusing. In later works Crane uses this layered punctuation frequently as he worked through drafts, as in his first version of 'Voyages VI', but, he edited the majority of these moments out in drafts, journal and volume versions, leaving these effects for key moments.[78] For instance, to create the breathless pauses of the 'Voyages' that build the erotic charge of the sequence:

> and where death, if shed,
> Presumes no carnage, but this single change, —
> Upon the steep floor flung from dawn to dawn […][79]

In 'Carmen', while Crane is still testing these techniques, the precise intonation that would characterise later works can still be detected in its early stages. In both 'Carmen' and 'C33', Crane is still in the apprentice stages of his poetic development. Assessing these poems within their context in Bruno's journals shows the extent to which they were composed of reworkings from Greenwich Village 'bohemian' tropes and fragments of fin-de-siècle poetry.

ii. *The Pagan*: Imagism, Symbolism and assimilation

The Pagan, Kling wrote in 1917, wanted to 'print good stories, poems, plays, drawings etc.' with the aim, common to Village publications, to keep 'repressive social and religious codes…destructive to happiness' at bay.[80] Kling's approach was consistently non-

[75] Crane, 'Voyages' ['IV'], p. 119, l. 23; 'Voyages II' ['I' in *TLR*], p. 13, l. 1.
[76] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, l. 2, 12, 13.
[77] Ibid., p.2, ll. 17-21.
[78] Crane, 'Belle Isle', enclosed in a letter to Munson, n.d. [c. January 1923], box 22, Crane/Munson Correspondence (Columbus) with 'There was a river: —', and 'Traced this flood, —' at lines 1 and 8.
[79] Crane, 'Voyages II', *Complete*, p. 36, ll. 15-17.
[80] Kling, 'In Answer to Numerous Questions', *The Pagan*, 2.5 (September 1917), front pages.

programmatic, without clear affiliation to any particular group (unlike the 'Patagonians' at *Rogue*, for instance). However, the journal was politically radical. Like most Village journals, *The Pagan* took a firm anti-war stance after April 1917 and closely followed trade union politics and the activities of the Wobblies.[81] Its tastes in the visual arts predominantly reflected those of the 1913 Armory Show.[82] Written contributions to *The Pagan*, as Crane's poems demonstrate, are marked by their assimilation of fin-de-siècle and contemporary influences. Kling had a distinctive sense of American modernism as a cosmopolitan and assimilative venture, and this is clear in his editing of the journal. These features became important for the editors of the 'exile' magazines, and were formative for the young Crane. And, some of these contributions even seem to have prompted titles for later works, with poems in *The Pagan* titled 'Ave Maria' (by Kling), 'Lachrimae Christi', and 'The Idiot' (by Jolas).[83]

The Pagan's title firmly rooted its outlook in the ideas of Greenwich Village 'bohemia'. As Cowley notes, one of the fashionable Village 'doctrines' was a nebulous concept of 'paganism' where 'the body is a temple in which there is nothing unclean, a shrine to be adorned for the ritual of love.'[84] In the Village, *The Masses* held 'Pagan Rout' balls to finance their publication, while a local restaurant, Strunsky's, advertised its 'Pagan' atmosphere.[85] These concepts were, at least in part, borrowed from London, and Kling's title was, presumably, also a reference to William Sharpe's Sussex-based 1892 *Pagan Review*.[86] London literary tastes in the early 1910s had emphasised, as in John Middleton Murry's *Rhythm*, a 'vitalist philosophy', drawing on Henri Bergson's philosophy, and the 'generative force of nature'.[87] Similarly, Vivien Locke Ellis's *The Open Window* (October 1910 to September 1911) aimed to express 'the faun spirit, instinctive, unselfconscious'.[88] Debates on mysticism were conducted in the pages of Wyndham Lewis's *Blast* (June 1914-July 1915) and Murry's predecessor to *Rhythm* (Summer 1911-July 1913), *The Blue Review*

[81] Longworth, 'The Avant-Garde in the Village', pp. 468-69; Kingham, *Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity*, p. 35. Kling, 'Paroles d'un Blesse', *The Pagan*, 1. 7-8 (November-December 1916), p. 44.
[82] Artists in *The Pagan* also at the Armory Show: Henri Matisse, Edvard Munch, Rodin, George Bellows, Fernand Léger, A. Walkovitz, John Sloan, Paul Signac, Marguerite Zorach, George Luks.
[83] Kling, 'Ave Maria', *The Pagan,* 4. 4-5 (August-September 1921), p. 30; Louise G. Cann, 'Lachrimae Christi', *The Pagan*, 4.6 (October 1919), pp. 36-37; Eugene Jolas, 'The Idiot', *The Pagan,* 4.1 (May 1919), p. 53.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Advert, *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), back pages.
[86] *The Pagan Review*, 1.1 (September 1892).
[87] See Brooker, 'Harmony, Discord and Difference', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, I, ed. by Andrew Thacker and Peter Brooker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 314–338.
[88] Dominic Hibberd, 'The New Poetry, Georgians and Others', *Modernist Magazines*, I, pp. 176-198 (p. 177).

(May-July 1913), edited with Katherine Mansfield.[89] Other magazines emphasized the vitality of the body through 'intelligent dancing', such as Dora Marsden's London-based *The Egoist* (January 1914-December 1914).[90] And famously, in his 1913 novel, *The Rainbow*, D. H. Lawrence devotes considerable time to Anna's ritualistic 'exultant…dances' 'before the Creator', while John Dowell describes his 'Swedish exercises' in Ford Madox Ford's *The Good Soldier,* published in 1915.[91] This concept of the vitality of the body was important for education reformers in London and the U.S., and was a frequent topic in Carl Zigrosser's *The Modern School*, the New Jersey-based magazine that published Crane's poem to the Russian ballet dancer, Stanislaw Portapovitch.[92]

In contrast to Bruno's journals, *The Pagan*'s interest in the fin-de-siècle was more overtly tempered by contemporary concerns (the reprints and portraits of Wilde are absent) as the magazine sought to define a distinctly American poetic mode (an aim that appealed to Crane throughout his career) that nonetheless reflected multi-lingual New York, where, for instance, 'Manhattan's Lower East Side, two blocks away' from *The Pagan* offices, was home to '350,000 first and second generation Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.'[93] Information on Kling is scarce but, like Bruno, it seems that Kling had emigrated to New York. His autobiographical poem, 'Une Vie', suggests that he spent his childhood in Russia.[94] Charmion von Wiegand, in an interview with John Unterecker, recalled being introduced to Crane's 'very good friend Joe Kling' who, on submitting her poems, received her 'rather haughtily' but was, she felt, 'really an undiscovered poet', adding, intriguingly, that in Kling's own poetry:

> constantly the river appears and the bridge appears. They are very metaphysical…He's written several…about Brooklyn and the Bridge…they're directly in the tradition [of Hart Crane]. They're more restrained and more mature, more classical [ellipses in original transcript].[95]

[89] *The Blue Review*, 1.1 (May 1913); 1.2 (June 1913); 1.3 (July 1913); *Blast*, 1 (20 June 1914); *Blast*, 2 (July 1915: War Number).
[90] E.g. Saint Fiacre, 'Passing Paris', *The Egoist*, 6.1 (16 March 1914), pp. 113-14 (p. 113);
[91] Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (London: Penguin Classics, 2016) pp. 210-11; Ford, *The Good Soldier: A Tale of Passion* (London: Penguin Classics, 2007), p. 16.
[92] Crane, 'To Potapovitch' [sic], p. 80. Also see p. 127 on Stravinsky's *Petrushka* ballet and 'The Wine Menagerie'.
[93] Kingham, *Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity,* p. 185.
[94] Kling, 'Childhood-April-Russia' in 'Une Vie', *The Pagan*, 1.5 (September 1916), pp. 7-18 (p. 7).
[95] Ibid.

Wiegand's description of 'going down to see Joe Kling […] in a batik blouse' sounds like standard practice for an aspiring young Greenwich Village poet, and Kling, like Bruno, was featured in *The Quill*'s 1925 map of Village's literary landmarks.[96]

Like Bruno's journals, *The Pagan* 'inhabit[ed] two worlds, America and old Europe'.[97] Kling's scope went well beyond 1890s London. While Bruno took pains to review European periodicals, including German journals advocating Expressionism, such as Berlin's *Der Sturm*, Kling also included a large proportion of works in translation often, as Victoria Kingham notes, translating himself.[98] References to 'old Europe' appeared more tangentially than in Bruno's publications, as demonstrated by a review of Mimi Aguglia's performance of *Salomé* in Italian in New York which illustrates both Kling's approach to the previous generation of writers, and his cosmopolitan understanding of American modernism.[99] Kling knowingly quotes lines that were also key to Beardsley's illustrations for the 1894 English edition by Elkin and Matthews and John Lane, and uses the Italian from Aguglia's performance of *Salomé*: 'Voglio baciare la tua bocca| Iokanaan' ('I want to kiss your lips| Jokanaan'), enjoying the layers of translation from Wilde's French to the Italian, in his own Anglophone journal.[100] Such allusions to the fin-de-siècle were assimilated with contributions from young, experimental poets such as Louis Zukofsky, Cowley, Munson, Eugene Jolas, Edward Nagle, and a slightly older generation, including Theodore Dreiser, Maxwell Bodenheim, and many Europeans: Knut Hamsun, Padraic Colum (Crane's friend), Virgil Geddes, and Fyodor Sologub. These appeared alongside pieces from writers from 'old Europe' including Octave Mirbeau, Fyodor Sologub, Gabriele D'Annunzio, and Arthur Schnitzler.

While the extent of its focus on works in translation made *The Pagan* unusual among Village publications, it shared editorial features with other journals and drew on a shared pool of contributors with Arthur Moss's *Quill*, Bruno's magazines and *Others*.[101] The confessional style of Kling's editorials was also en vogue, with Bruno writing in praise of the 'new renaissance of the one man magazine' in a review of Washington D.C.'s *The Minaret*, edited by Herbert Bruncken which 'carrie[d] on its first page the confessions of its

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[96] Charmion Von Wiegand, in *This Fabulous Shadow*, interview transcripts for television programme, 1966, interview by John Unterecker, box 22. Crane Papers (New York), unpaginated; Robert Edwards, 'Mr Quill's Guide', *The Quill* (August-September 1925) online via the Harry Ransom Center < http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/bookshopdoor/thevillage.cfm#1> accessed 26.10.16.

[97] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 464.

[98] Kingham, *Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity*, p. 160, and see Kling, 'Announcement No.1', *The Pagan*, 2.10 (February 1918), back pages.

[99] Aguglia was a Sicilian actress on tour in the US. Unsigned, 'Out Salomes all Salomes: Mimi Aguglia Gives Surprise in Italian Version of Wilde's Tragedy', *The New York Times* (23 December 1913), p. 11.

[100] Kling as "Ben S", 'To My Brother Connoisseurs', *The Pagan*, 1.2 (June 1916), pp. 32-35 (p. 35); Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 82.

[101] See: *Greenwich Village Anthology of Verse Being a Compilation of Poetry From the Pages of The First Year's Issues of The Quill, A Magazine of Greenwich Village*, ed. by Arthur H. Moss (Kessinger Legacy Imprints, 2010).

editor.' The self-conscious editing of Bruno's journals and *The Pagan* was indicative of a wider appetite for autobiographical stories: Bruno offered readers $100 for 'the story of [their] marriage'.[102] While Kling's editorials were often exasperated tirades again the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 'the Comstock gang', they normally opened on a personal note; his first begins, 'Dio mio!', and he generally made a habit of annotating contributions with pithy quotes and his own comments—something Crane indulged in, too, with his 'Editorial note to a patriotic poem'.[103] *The Pagan*'s confessional style extended to Kling's printing of poems that reflected his reputation, as Munson put it, as 'the editor that poet maids prefer' (he printed love poems addressed to him, with his name barely anonymised as 'J— K—'), including his own 'To Julia, after her departure'.[104]

The Pagan's wide-ranging interests were an asset for the young poet experimenting with different voices, and the journals' assimilative aesthetic is well illustrated by Crane's contributions. This sets apart the distinct and assimilative aesthetic influence of *The Pagan* from other journals Crane was reading, such as *The Little Review*, or *Others*. Tellingly, in his letter to Kling, published in the October 1916 number, Crane connects the 'new and distinct' presence of *The Pagan* in the 'American Renaissance of literature and art' to the journal's interest in 'the exoticism and richness of Wildes' [sic] poems.'[105] A quick concordance using an anthology of nineteenth-century poetry is instructive when assessing Crane's use of stock fin-de-siècle tropes in *The Pagan* poems. A comparison with Lisa Rodensky's anthology, *Decadent Poetry from Wilde to Naidu,* quickly reveals the extent of Crane's reliance on these images.[106] Taking images from Crane's early poetry, the anthology contains 34 mentions of the moon, 47 of 'lips', 11 of 'honey', 42 of 'rose', and 6 of 'jewelled', while 'jade', 'gild', 'crimson', 'opal', 'fragile', 'marble', 'dance', 'flare' all make frequent appearances.[107] Crane's use of these stock tropes results in a tension between his attempts to use pared down Imagist forms and his use of subjects that had become synonymous with Decadent and fin-de-siècle poetry. There is, too, a discordance between his interest in Imagism (depicting 'the thing itself') and his desire to 'depict not the thing

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[102] Bruno, *Fragments from Greenwich Village*, p. 16; Bruno, 'In Our Village: Bruno's Garret and its Story', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.6 (5 February 1916), pp. 558-59; Bruno, 'Les Confidences: Being the Confessions of a Self-Made American', *Bruno's Weekly,* 2.18 (19 April 1916), pp. 647-53.
[103] Kling, 'Ecco La Vita', *The Pagan* 1.1 (May 1916), pp. 12-13; Munson, *Awakening Twenties,* pp. 75-76; Crane, 'Editorial Note to a Patriotic Poem', *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), p. 28.
[104] "M. D. H.", 'Promise', *The Pagan*, 6.4-5 (August-September 1921), p. 28; 'To Julia, After her Departure', *The Pagan*, 1.6 (February 1917), p. 42.
[105] Crane to *The Pagan*, 1.6 (October 1916), p. 43; Kingham, *Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity*, pp. 159-163.
[106] *Decadent Poetry from Wilde to Naidu,* ed. by Lisa Rodensky (London: Penguin, 2006).
[107] These images occur in, among examples in Crane's early poems, 'Echoes', p. 39, ll. 7, 2, 9, 10; 'October-November', p. 4, ll. 4, 2, 9; 'Modern Craft', p. 37, l. 6, 'Postscript', p. 20, l. 1; 'To Portapovitch', p. 80, l. 8.

but the effect it produces', to quote from Jean Moréas, the author of the 'Symbolist Manifesto' published in *Le Figaro* in September 1886.[108]

'October-November' forms almost a fabric of quotations from Mallarmé, despite its attempt to take the simple, Imagistic premise of detailing changes in light throughout the day. Crane seems to have had a number of characteristic images from Mallarmé in mind as he constructed the poem, such as: 'so when I have sucked the gleam of grape-flesh', 'Among the dead leaves, at times when the forest flows| with gold and ashen tints', 'silvery mist glazing the willows', 'lashing the crimson space of naked gold', and 'memory laden […] streams of purple redolence'.[109] But, the poem is particularly engaged with *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard* ('A Dice Throw At Any Time Never Will Destroy Chance'), which contains an image of a 'solitary lost' and 'falling…feather' ('plume solitaire éperdue') that 'on the invisible brow| scintillates' ('au front invisible| scintille'), in 'delirium' ('délire').[110] Crane uses this image as a metaphor for the changing light:

> Indian-summer-sun
> With crimson feathers whips away the mists,
> Dives through the filter of trellises
> And gilds the silver on the blotched arbor seats.
>
> Now gold and purple scintillate
> On trees that seem dancing
> In delirium;
> Then the moon
> In a mad orange flare
> Floods the grape hung night.[111]

In doing so, however, Crane's borrowings are somewhat jarring. 'Scintillates' falls too easily into its alternative, figurative meaning ('Of a person, or his or her writing, speech […] to be

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[108] Jean Moréas, 'The Symbolist Manifesto', *Manifesto: A Century of Isms*, ed. and trans. by Marry Ann Caws (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 50-51; Moréas, 'Le Symbolisme', *Le Figaro* (18 September 1886), pp. 1-2.

[109] Stéphane Mallarmé, 'L'Après Midi d'un Faune' ('A Faun in the Afternoon'), *Collected Poems and Other Verse*, trans. by E. H. and A. M. Blackmore (Oxford World Classics: Oxford, 2008), pp. 38-46 (p. 43), ll. 57, 59, 99-100 'Le Nénuphar blanc' ('The White Water Lily'), ibid., p. 113; 'Hérodiade' ('Herodias'), ibid., pp. 193-197 (p. 193), l. 3; 'Les Fenêtres' ('The Windows'), ibid., pp. 12-13, ll. 17-20.

[110] Mallarmé, *Collected Poems,* pp. 139-183, ll. 108-34. I have followed Blackmore's translation, but substituted 'shimmers' for the cognate for 'scintille', 'scintillate'.

[111] Given that these are near cognates ('scintille'; 'délire'), whether Crane may have encountered the text in English or French is unimportant. 'October-November', *The Pagan*, 1.7-8 (November-December 1916), p. 4, ll. 1-10.

brilliant; to shine, to sparkle') anthropomorphizing the 'dancing […] trees', this is underlined by 'delirium', obscuring the simplicity of Crane's subject.[112]

This ostensibly clear study of light as it passes through vegetation on a trellis, through the rising mist as it warms the ground, and the eventual change to nightfall and moonlight is confused by this 'filter' of mixed metaphors. Light 'dives' bird-like with these 'crimson feathers', somehow transfigures and acquires the ability to 'gild' the 'blotched' (presumably mossy) 'arbor-seats' with 'silver'. Meanwhile, the 'moon' in its 'mad orange flare' cannot help but echo Laforgue's 'pierrots lunaire', or his acidic barbs directed at poet 'dandies of the moon' (see Crane's 'flesh of moons' in 'Modern Craft' and 'moons of spring' in 'Legende').[113] Crane's mixed metaphors of '*mad* orange *flare*', [my emphasis] does not enact the same bathos as is characteristic of Laforgue, unlike the opening of part two of the later poem 'Faustus', where we get the Laforguian rhyme as the 'rooster' 'canters/banters'.[114]

In 'October November', Crane's formal experiments are still dictating the detail of his chosen metaphors, as in 'C33' and 'Carmen'. After the strict iambs of line two, the rhythm drops into an arrangement based on the sibilant qualities of words and phrases that are used, a little clumsily, to reflect the 'silver' and 'whip[ping]' of the light. 'Scintillate' and 'delirium' are chosen for the surface quality of their fluttering sound, as well as their allusions to Mallarmé. Rhythmically, this arrangement recalls Moréas's principle of 'ordered disorder'; 'scintillate' and 'delirium' are overly decorative in contrast to the aural simplicity of the iambic 'Now gold and purple' and 'On trees that seem' elsewhere in the stanza.[115] The 'seems' here is also important in tracing the development of Crane's verse: though the sun '*has*' these feather-like qualities the trees just '*seem'* to dance. Likewise, in 'Forgetfulness' we get: 'Forgetfulness is *like* a song...is *like* a bird'.[116] In *The Pagan* poems there is little of the sustained, confident, and often surreal, metonymy of later texts, developed out of his attention to contemporary French experiments (see Chapter II, pp. 67-81). While there are glimpses of the associative mode of the 'logic' with the 'dawn's broken arc' in 'Postscript',

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[112] 'scintillate', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/172727?redirectedFrom=scintillate> accessed 20. 11. 15.

[113] Crane, 'Modern Craft', p. 37, l.1; Crane, 'Legende', p. 28 l. 8. Eliot borrows from Laforgue similarly in *Prufrock and Other Observations* (1917) and in unpublished early poems, such as 'Convictions (Curtain Raiser)', or 'First Caprice in North Cambridge'. See Ricks in *Inventions of the March Hare,* pp. 103-08, pp. 110-13. *Prufrock* in: T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* in *Complete Poems and Plays* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), pp. 11-34. Also see footnote 67.

[114] See Martin Scofield on Eliot's 'Laforgueian mould' in 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock': 'that these lines are unmistakably tinged with comedy depends a great deal on the quality of the rhyme and the couplet effect of the whole […]' in Scofield, *T.S. Eliot: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 55.

[115] Moréas, 'The Symbolist Manifesto', *Manifesto,* p. 51.

[116] Crane, 'Forgetfulness', *The Pagan*, 3.4 (August-September 1918), p. 15.

which suggests the gradual, curved line of the watery rise of the winter sun,[117] there is not yet the densely packed, and self-consciously disorientating metaphors of, for instance, 'The Wine Menagerie'. This later poem moves from one associative, and metonymic, description to the other. For instance, 'the forceps of the smile that takes her' (the smile dragged out of the bartender by the flirting poet), morphs into the serpent's 'skin' as a 'facsimile of time' (discussed further on p. 125).[118] Crane's interest in these forms stemmed from the Imagist preference for the juxtaposition of, to borrow Pound's phrase, individual 'instance[s] of time'—this would become a real preoccupation for Crane in later poems, as in 'time unskeins' in 'The Wine Menagerie'; as he puts it in 'Passage': 'And had I walked | The dozen particular decimals of time?'[119] Interestingly, Kling's poetic text 'Fragments' in the September 1917 number (part of a vogue for 'fragment' poems in the journal, which may have interested Crane[120]) commented on this principle through its collection of collaged short poems.[121]

Despite Crane's engagements with a specific literary heritage, he is already less derivative in his imitations than with his first publications, 'C33' and 'Carmen'. Crane was writing at the height of the popularity of the Imagist aesthetic. The journals that Crane was reading carefully, including *Others*, *The Modern School*, *The Little Review* and *Poetry,* were, at this time, centres of Imagism. For its February 1914 number *Glebe* published *Des Imagistes*, edited by Ezra Pound and published by Alfred and Charles Boni from their famous bookshop on Washington Square.[122] This publishing move assuredly tied the Imagist movement with Greenwich Village, and foreshadowed the aesthetic sensibilities of Boni & Liveright's list in the 1920s.[123] This was reflected in Bruno's journals which showed a sustained interest in, as the editor put it, 'Imagism and Ezra Poundism'.[124] *The Pagan*'s contents show both the prevalence of Imagist experiments, and how the advertised tenets of Imagism, as outlined in prose by Pound, Flint and Aldington, were often treated facetiously, or, in poetic practice, were tempered by other influences. Testament to his unpartisan editing policy, Kling published experiments in Imagism alongside criticism of its tenets and advocates, such as 'To the Author of Lustra' which admonishes 'Ezra | You idle

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[117] Crane, 'Postscript', *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), p. 20, l.4
[118] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete Poems*, pp. 24-24 (p. 23), l. 11.
[119] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste', *Poetry*, 1.6 (March 1913), pp. 200-06; Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete Poems*, pp. 24-24 (p. 23), l. 15; 'Passage', *The Calendar* 3.1 (July 1926), pp. 106-07 (p. 106), l. 25.
[120] See also, E. H. Kleinhart, 'Fragment', *The Pagan,* 3.9 (January 1918), p.31; J. Blanding Sloan, 'Fragments', *The Pagan*, 5.2 (June 1919), p.12.
[121] Kling, 'Fragments', *The Pagan*, 5.2 (September 1917), p. 17.
[122] Brooker and Thacker, 'Introduction', *Modernist Magazines*, II, p. 75 in footnote 49.
[123] *The Glebe: Des Imagistes-An Anthology*, ed. by Ezra Pound (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1914).
[124] Bruno, 'In Our Village: Spring and Poets', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2. 14 (1 April 1916), pp. 593-94. Aldington, for instance, was mentioned/appeared 20 times in *Bruno's Weekly*. Data gathered using the Blue Mountain Project.

roamer in classical banalities'.[125] Elsewhere, Winthrop Parkhurst's 'Vers Libre' which included the line 'each kiss a bad poem | Without rhyme or reason', mocked Pound's suggestion to detail 'instance[s] of time' in verse.[126] Alongside 'Vers Libre' was a prose piece on the Imagists which made a similar comment on the 'cardinal points' of the aesthetic, and referenced Pound's 'credo' in the 'Don'ts': 'The credo exhausted my breath already.'[127] 'Flimagism', by John R. McCarthy in the Summer 1920 number, bemoans the prevalence of these experiments by adopting a mock-Imagist aesthetic that offsets an adulterous relationship's disintegration into banality (with gifts of 'spats' and 'slippers') against a sharply cut form in what becomes a retort to Aldington's claim in *Greenwich Village* in July 1915 that Imagist techniques offered the 'ideal of style… for our time', while more traditional models were 'often totally unsuited to the matter treated.'[128]

Pound's split from Imagism, explained in a letter to Harriet Monroe in January 1915, reveals the extent to which its aesthetic principles had become the orthodoxy of the avant-garde. Pound wrote that 'Imagism' had become 'Amygism' (a joke at Amy Lowell's expense, reflecting her frequent presence in avant-garde magazines, including *Poetry*) and the popularity of the form had, as Pound wrote, resulted in 'a democratic beer garden'.[129] Elitist as his comments seem, they illustrate how widespread this poetic style had become in certain quarters. *The Pagan* printed a large proportion of work in this Imagist vein, such Kling's own 'Une Vie', from September 1916—the number Crane compliments in his letter printed in the journal:

> Childhood—April—Russia
> How can skies
> Be so blue,
> And sunlight
> So golden?
> Cloud-drifts
> So white—
> And state-roads so muddy?[130]

Crane, as the *Pagan* poems attest, was not immune to these influences, and the sparser impulse of the Imagist form tempered the 'superfluous' tendencies of his early verse. Taggard notes this in the title of her review: 'An Imagist in Amber', while Antonio

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[125] Max Light Sonin, 'To the Author of Lustra', *The Pagan*, 3.6 (October 1918), p. 22, ll. 1-2.
[126] Winthrop Parkhurst, 'Vers Libre', *The Pagan*, 4.6 (October 1919), p. 11, l. 19.
[127] C. Kay Scott, 'Imagists', in 'Amazon Forests', *The Pagan*, 4.6 (October 1919), pp. 12–17 (p. 15).
[128] John R. McCarthy, 'Flimagism', *The Pagan,* 5. 3-4-5 (Summer 1920), p. 20; Aldington, 'The Imagists', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2. (15 July 1915), pp. 54-57 (p. 54).
[129] Pound to Monroe, c. January 1915, *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941*, ed. by D. D. Paige (New York: New Directions, 1971), p. 48.
[130] Kling, 'Une Vie', p. 7, ll. 1-8.

Marichalar commented in *Revista de Occidente* that Crane 'was, before now, an Imagist poet', collaging images into a kind of 'patio'.[131]

Crane's opening for 'October-November' recalls Kling's 'Une Vie', complete with hyphens, but he cannot resist swapping the trochees for a lively dactylic metre. Beginning with his subject, the 'sun', in the fashion common to Imagism of missing out the article, was unusual for Crane, and asserts his attempt to write in an Imagist mode. In contrast, his other *Pagan* poems open: 'Up', 'The anxious', 'Though' (twice), 'Sinuously', 'Vault'.[132] This same impulse directs his subject, observing light patterns over 'instances of time', and his use of purely descriptive lines, e.g. 'Then the moon', and the swift move in time-frame at the beginning of the second stanza with 'Now'.[133] Yet, Crane's affinities with the previous generation of poets dominate the poem and the two conflicting strands of influence clash. Crane's 'external analogies' are hardly going, to borrow from Pound's 'Don'ts' and F. S. Flint's 'Imagisme', 'in fear of abstractions' and are, thus, at odds with central Imagist premises of the 'direct treatment of the thing'.[134] Crane's poem contains 'superfluous' images that are not 'contributing to the presentation', i.e. 'delirium', 'scintillate' and 'dance' all indicating the same movement.[135] It is hardly surprising, then, that in 1917 Pound wrote to Crane: 'Lover of Beauty is all very egg; there is perhaps better egg, but you haven't yet the ghost of a sitting hen or an incubator about you.'[136]

The assimilation of Imagist and fin-de-siècle forms in Crane's early verse is something to be considered alongside Kling's editorial practices, which can be seen in parallel to Crane's use of contrasting aesthetic poses. Further contributions to *The Pagan* reveal that Crane was not unique in working in this 'split' mode. Kling's own 'The Theatre' begins with a description of 'A naked bosomed female| On a stage', and the 'flush of feeling' of her audience, but slips into:

> Men and women
> (Upright citizens)
> Laugh……[137]

where the lines are stripped of detail and 'ornament'.[138] Monnie Laib's 'Twilight' from December 1917 contains similar Symbolist informed tropes to 'October-November', even down to the colour scheme, but also displays a similar affinity with Imagist forms:

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[131] Antonio Marichalar, 'La estética de retroceso y la poesía de Hart Crane', review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *Revista de Occidente,* 5.47 (February 1927), pp. 260-263 (trans. by Camilla Sutherland).
[132] Crane, 'The Hive', *The Pagan*, 1.11 (March 1917), p. 36, l. 1; 'Annunciations', p. 11, l. 1; 'Modern Craft', p. 37, l. 1; 'Postscript', p. 20, l.1; 'Carmen', p. 2, l. 1; 'To Potapovitch [sic]', p. 80, l. 1.
[133] Crane, 'October-November', p. 4, l. 1
[134] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 201; F. S. Flint, 'Imagisme', *Poetry*, 1.6 (March 1913), pp. 198-200 (p. 200).
[135] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 200.
[136] Pound to Crane, n.d., c. 1918, folder 310, box 8, Crane Collection (New Haven).
[137] Kling, 'The Theatre', *The Pagan,* 1.1 (May 1916), p. 3, ll. 1-16.

The last tinted rays
In the west
Are fading, dying….
Threads of purple

Threads of gold
Quiver through the air…[139]

Crane was working within a particular model of fashionable 'post-Decadent' verse that assimilates these two modes. In 'Echoes', which utilises the similarly Wildean tropes of 'C33', these straining influences are visible where Crane opens with the 'direct treatment' of the 'rain' upon glass, describing their changing colours under the 'sunlight', and eventual evaporation:

Slivers of rain upon the pane,
Jade-green with sunlight, melt and flow.
Upward again: —they leave no stain
Of all the storm an hour ago.[140]

Crane seems to be borrowing from a contribution to *The Pagan* by Ovro'om Raisin in the July 1916 number:

Like tristful tears
The raindrops trickle down
The window-pane,
Tracing symbols fraught
With melancholy meaning….?

'The streets are wet
And your boots are torn,
The storm-winds blow
And cloak you have none.'[141]

While Raisin's poem seems to have been Crane's starting point (and, like Raisin, he mixes the abstract 'tristful' with description, 'The streets are wet'), 'Echoes', published in the October-November 1917 number, still seems rooted in Decadent imagery, with 'fragile', 'cool roses', and eyes as 'opal pools' (recalling a number of descriptions from Wilde, e.g., eyes as 'opals that burn always') and he keeps to a conservative form of rhyming

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[138] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 202.
[139] Monnie Laib, 'Twilight', *The Pagan*, 2.6 (December 1917), p. 11.
[140] Crane, 'Echoes', p. 39, ll. 1-4.
[141] Ovro'om Raisin, 'Tamud-Student's Monody', *The Pagan*, 1.3 (July 1916), p. 41.

couplets.[142] Despite his attempts to pare back his language, these images are still cast in abstractions. For instance, the 'arms' as 'circles of roses', or the dried rivulets become the 'stain' of the 'storm'.[143]

Here, as with 'Carmen de Boheme', Crane is also experimenting with the gestures that would become characteristic of 'Voyages'. The 'Silently, now, but that your lips' with its gently disrupted rhythms and the interrupting, placing and qualifying, 'now' (along with the address to 'you') sees the beginnings of the hesitant, explorative voice of 'Voyages' with its repetitions: 'Vastly now', 'Love advancing now', 'But now| Draw in your head, alone and too tall here, and sleep the long way home'.[144] Crane generally marked these pauses with commas, and these were often shifted in edits. 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' in the 1924 *Secession* text contains the line: 'And now before its arteries turn dark', with Crane still unsure of the intonation here. He adds a comma for the *White Buildings* text so it becomes: 'And now, before its arteries turn dark'.[145]

The beginnings of these careful rhythms can also be found in 'Postscript' from the April-May 1918 *Pagan*, set against a sterile landscape:

> Mine is a world forgone though not yet ended, —
> An imagined garden grey with sundered boughs
> And broken branches, wistful and unmended,
> And mist that is more constant than your vows.[146]

The beginning of the stanza 'Mine is' has something of the declarative tricks of 'Voyages': in 'Voyages II' the poem opens in the middle of a thought: '—And yet this great wink of eternity'.[147] In the 'Voyages' these moments are frequently emphasised by opening on a trochee, as in: '—And yet', 'And now', 'And onward', 'Where icy', which, in 'Postscript' (again, foreshadowing a trick from 'Voyages') is compounded by the anaphora: 'And broken', 'And mist'. As with 'Carmen', there are traces of the lyrical delicacy of the later poems here. In a roughening up of more languorous patterns in earlier texts, the iambs are carefully broken at 'imagined'—with two heavy stresses on '*An*' and '*im*', highlighting again the craft of the poem just before we get the imagined landscape which, again, resists the Imagistic impulse for, as Aldington put it in *Greenwich Village*, 'simplicity, clarity and precision' that would allow for the '[d]irect treatment of the subject.'[148]

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[142] Ibid., ll. 9-10; Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 74.
[143] Ibid. ll. 1-4, 9-10.
[144] Crane, 'Voyages V', *Complete Poems*, p. 38, ll. 21-22.
[145] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 2, l. 29; Crane, 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen', *Complete Poems*, pp. 26-32, l. 29.
[146] Crane, 'Postscript', p. 20.
[147] Crane, 'Voyages II', *Complete Poems*, p. 35, l. 1.
[148] Aldington, 'The Imagists', pp. 54-57.

Looking at 'The Hive' at this point in his career we see Crane's frustrations with his inability to discipline the associations of his subject. The poem reads:

> Up the chasm-walls of my bleeding heart
> Humanity pecks, claws, sobs and climbs;
> Up the inside, and over every part
> Of the hive of the world that is my heart.
>
> And of all the sowing, and all the tear-tendering,
> And reaping, have mercy and love issued forth.
> Mercy, white milk, and honey, gold love—
> And I watch, and say, 'These the anguish are worth.'[149]

Crane is not naïve about the hackneyed nature of that fourth line where the poet is fashioned as the 'vates', the interpreter, or prophet, interpreting the 'world'.[150] In later poems he uses these clichéd motifs knowingly (as in fashioning himself as the 'famished kitten' on a step in New York in 'Chaplinesque') without the need for this kind of declarative and defensive last phrase: "'These the anguish are worth.'"[151] Here Crane is concerned with the dangers of cliché in adopting an explanatory or prophetic voice, but in *The Bridge* this becomes a dominant pose, with the 'Proem' even ending on the phrase, 'lend a myth to God.'[152]

In 'The Hive' the geometry of the honeycomb metaphor also reflects his increasing interest in an associative, complex form that seems to have been stimulated by his reading of both fin-de-siècle works, and experiments in Imagism. This is emphasised as he plays on the dual meaning of 'humanity' as humankind/society and benevolence/empathy, concepts that, again, get split through the poem: we end on the unsure, but empathetic note of the poet's 'anguish' at placing himself as an interlocutor for 'the hive of the world.' At the start of the poem the cells of the honeycomb are filled with these individual qualities of 'humanity' that seem to be struggling for air, and which also seem like conflicting characteristics of a psyche struggling for dominance, or even sanity. This idea of the poet as vessel is consistently undermined by what Crane implies is self-interest ('tear tendering', 'reaping') as the poet squeezes ('issue[s] forth'), with deliberate irony, an anxious discussion of formal properties from this traditional conception of the poet as 'vates'. Kling's reading,

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[149] Crane, 'The Hive', p. 36.
[150] As in Sir Philip Sidney and P. B. Shelley's 'Defences'. Sidney, 'Defence of Poesie', *Defence of Poesie, Astrophil and Stella and Other Writings*, ed. by Elizabeth Porges Watson (London: Everyman, 1997), pp. 83-130; Shelley, 'A Defence of Poetry, or Remarks Suggested by an Essay Entitled "Four Ages of Poetry"', Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose,* ed. by Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), p. 508.
[151] Crane, 'Chaplinesque', *Gargoyle*, 1.6 (December 1921), p. 24, l. 6.
[152] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *Complete*, pp. 43-44 (p. 44), l. 44.

we can infer from the layout, seems to have been sharp; 'The Hive' is followed by Routledge Curry's 'Veni, Vidi, Vici' where a woman saves a child from traffic: 'I saw| Another woman| Snatch a curly headed bit| Of humanity.'[153] Crucially, the young child in the poem is somehow microcosmic: the child is a bit of a whole of this thing, humanity. It is a stock trope and a saccharine image. Crane, though, is clearly aware of the hackneyed associations of the word, and this drives him to break down these related concepts into component parts ('mercy', 'heart', 'love', 'anguish') into the geometry of the hive. He emphasises the noun's dual meaning as a way of articulating his own unease. Despite the complexity of the internal metaphors, the metaphor of the 'heart' still remains tired. It is, somewhat perversely, exactly the inability to control these layered associations that seems to have led to Crane's experiments with an associative form.

These concerns with form are elucidated rather literally in the spoken last phrase of 'The Hive'. In 'Modern Craft' from the January 1918 number of *The Pagan* Crane is working in a similar mode. Crane is declarative, but, crucially, as well as the somewhat tired borrowings of nineteenth-century tropes, here he first uses his associative form to discuss his sexuality—a dual consideration that would become crucial to the 'Voyages', 'Faustus', and 'The Wine Menagerie'.[154] 'Modern Craft' reads:

> Though I have touched her flesh of moons,
> Still she sits gestureless and mute,
> Drowning cool pearls in alcohol.
> O blameless shyness; —innocence dissolute!
>
> She hazards jet; wears tiger-lillies; —
> And bolts herself within a jewelled belt.
> Too many palms have grazed her shoulders:
> Surely she must have felt.
>
> Ophelia had such eyes; but she
> Even, sank in love and choked with flowers.
> This burns and is not burnt…. My modern love were
> Charred at a stake in younger times than ours.[155]

As with 'Echoes', there is a glimmer of Crane's new style here in the striking metaphors, as 'She hazards jet' (and so, with 'jet' both as the gems on her belt and 'fashion', 'style', 'mode'

[153] Routledge Curry, 'Veni, Vidi, Vici', *The Pagan*, 1.11 (March 1917), p. 37.
[154] See pp. 90, 91, 115.
[155] Crane, 'Modern Craft', p. 37.

she dresses quickly, as if observed[156]) and 'bolts herself' firmly, and chastely, 'within her jewelled belt'. The rhythms are roughened here: Crane relies on heavy spondees and trochees, and the lines are deliberately less lyrical, less pretty. The emphasis moves from sibilance and iambs and, there is a preference for interruptions, such as 'herself' in the sixth line, which causes the metre to alter from an iambic to trochaic pattern.

'Modern Craft' is a poem about inaction in various forms. This works reflexively as Crane comments on his own work, 'Still she sits gesture less and mute' refers to Venus and her unnamed companion in 'The Bathers' from the December 1917 *Pagan* with its similarly static, Pygmalion-esque 'ivory women by a milky sea', with the awkward and heavily aphoristic description of Venus in the last lines: 'She came in such still water, and so nursed| In silence, beauty blessed and beauty cursed.'[157] The nudity of the first line of 'Modern Craft' also feels forced, 'flesh of moons' is obvious to the point of humour, or vulgarity, draining the description of any erotic charge as Crane seems to be reaching for Laforgue's 'Dans ce halo de chair en harmonies lactées!...' ('In that halo of flesh where milk harmonies well!...'). [158] In 'Postscript' Crane's worries about his 'gestureless and mute' poetry is once again figured as 'marble':

> Though now but marble are the marble urns,
> Though fountains droop in waning light, and pain
> Glitters on the edges of wet ferns,
> I should not dare to let you in again.[159]

There is something here of Crane's frustration with his poetic abilities as he alludes to Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', but laments his own ability to bring his own 'marble men and maidens' (Keats's phrase) to life: they are, he repeats in frustration, 'but marble…the marble urns'.[160]

In both 'Postscript' and 'Modern Craft' Crane's concerns with his poetic ability become intertwined with his anxiety about his sexuality, apparent in 'I should not dare to let you in again', and in the final lines of 'Modern Craft':

> This burns and is not burnt…My modern love were
> Charred at a stake in younger times than ours.[161]

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156 'jet'. *OED Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/101164?rskey=7af4vF&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 20. 11. 15.
157 Crane, 'The Bathers', *The Pagan*, 2.8 (December 1917), p. 19.
158 Jules Laforgue, 'Ève, sans Trêve', (Eve No Reprieve), *The Complete Poems*, trans. by Peter Dale (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2004), pp. 366-37, l. 12.
159 Crane, 'Postscript', p. 20.
160 Keats, 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', *The Complete Poems*, ed. by John Barnard (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1988), pp. 344-346 (p. 345), l. 42.
161 Crane, 'Modern Craft', p. 37, ll. 11-12.

Though it is clear that Crane is discussing unfulfilled desire (it 'burns' but has not been 'burnt'), here he finds a corollary in his poetic goals—a link Crane would make throughout his career (see pp. 90-93). Crane is considering 'Craft[ing]' the 'Modern' love poem, but there's also something of a social question for the young poet, as in the 'Voyages', as he first states a problem that would become central to his poetry. It was only in the mid 1920s that he began experimenting with the associative mode as a way of representing his homosexual relationships by means of coded, evasive metaphors. In the 1924 'Faustus', after Crane had been thinking seriously about ideas that would form 'the logic of metaphor' and shape his 'Discussion with Harriet Monroe', we get his attempt at a solution:

> *There is a world dimensional for*
> *Those untwisted by a love of things irreconcilable.*[162]

Here there is less of the 'anguish' of 'The Hive' and 'Modern Craft'. The 'logic', in his later poetry, provided Crane with this means of 'reconciling' his poetry with his male subjects using this associative model.

iii. *The Pagan* as a 'training school' and cosmopolitan modernism

In *Awakening Twenties*, Munson remembers *The Pagan* acting as a 'training school' for the young editors of the 'exile' journals of the 1920s.[163] The significance of *The Pagan* was, for Munson, negligible in terms of the trajectory of Crane's career, but apparently formative for the development of his poetry. Munson goes on to add that it was Kling's 'insensitivity to the new writers of *The Little Review*' that led to Crane's eventual disenchantment with the journal. While this oversimplifies Crane's complex affiliations during these years, Munson's overall point holds true: Crane's increasing interest in avant-garde experiments led to his disenchantment with *The Pagan* as the 'post-Decadent' aesthetic of the Village began to lose its appeal. Crane began looking for new publishing outlets. Initially he sent work to *The Modernist* and *The Modern School,* but then began looking further afield, and at journals with broader readerships outside of New York City and its environs. In the early 1920s Crane appeared in New Orleans's *Double Dealer*, Vanderbilt's *The Fugitive, The Dial*, and, after 1922, the 'exile' magazines, and other journals in their shared networks: *Gargoyle, Secession, Broom, 1924, S4N,* and, later in the decade, *transition.*

As contributions to *The Pagan* attest, Kling was paying close attention to literary developments in Europe. Imagism, post-symbolist and, later, Dadaist poetic forms, though highlighted by *The Pagan*, were, however, treated with suspicion. Kling's editing practices

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[162] Crane, 'Discussion', pp. 34-41; 'Faustus II', pp. 1-4 (p. 1), ll. 16-18 (original formatting with italics).
[163] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 76.

show a suspicion of arbitrary formal experimentation, and he made this stance clear through parodies of calligrammes in editorial segments.[164] As early as 1915 in Stieglitz's *291*, New York journals had been publishing calligrammatic experiments that borrowed from European literary avant-gardes, with, for instance, J. B. Kerfoot's 'Bunch of Keys' where the text is arranged to visually represent the subject (see Figure 2).[165] Perhaps responding as much to the offerings in *291* as those in European publications, in July 1918, in a number that featured Crane heavily both as an editor and contributor, Kling's 'As It Seems' appeared: an ode to waffles and syrup with the text shaped into a phallus.[166] And as early as September 1916 a calligrammatic experiment appeared in *The Pagan* by 'Ben S.'(Kling's pseudonym) where banal adjectives for Kling at 'Twenty' and 'Thirty-Two' are pointlessly grouped into two columns.[167] For Kling, as these parodies show, form must elucidate content, and the simple visual reflection of the subject was, then, a gimmick. Kling was more sympathetic to the aims of American Futurism. City-scape poems, more in the vein of Carl Sandburg than the Dadaist experiments of *Broom* and *Secession*, were a frequent presence in *The Pagan*, but Crane did not fully experiment with these ideas until he became involved with the 'exile' journals, though he does mention 'ragtime and dances' and 'city, your axles need not the oil of song' in 'Porphyro' and 'the fury of the street' in 'Chaplinesque'.[168]

Despite the irreverence of these publications, *The Pagan*'s attention to these forms enables Crane's interest in post-symbolist literature to be pinpointed outside of his reading of Apollinaire (which Unterecker dates from about 1919).[169] The nature of Crane's exposure to these experiments, filtered through Kling's scepticism, is also crucial. Crane and Munson, who met at Kling's office, displayed a similar scepticism that separated the aesthetics of *Secession* and *Broom*, otherwise very closely linked journals with a shared group of contributors. These differences were ultimately the reason Josephson left Munson's journal for Loeb's; writing like Josephson's was 'putting automobile goggles on Proteus', wrote Munson.[170] Like Kling, Crane worried that work like Josephson's 'Peep Peep Parrish' that heavy handedly, but, Crane felt, arbitrarily, utilised modern quotidian details including

[164] George Lewys, 'San Francisco Under Fog', p. 26.
[165] J. B. Kerfoot, 'A Bunch of Keys', *291*, 1.3 (May 1915) back cover. Other examples include Katherine N. Rhodes 'I walked in to', *291*, 1.3 (May 1915) p. 2;
[166] Kling, 'As It Seems', *The Pagan*, 3.3 (July 1918), p. 35.
[167] Kling as "Ben S", 'Twenty', *The Pagan*, 1.5 (September 1916), p. 37.
[168] Crane, 'Porphyro in Akron', p. 53, ll. 38, 19; 'Chaplinesque', *Gargoyle*, 1.6 (December 1921), p. 24, l. 7.
[169] Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 146.
[170] Munson, 'Interstice Between Scylla and Charybdis', *Secession*, 1.2 (July 1922), pp. 30-32 (p.30).

'electric fan[s]', 'high building[s]' and 'cinema[s]', resulted in a kind of ephemeral period literature.[171]

As well as introducing Crane and Munson to Dadaism (and possibly fashioning their cautious approach), Kling's presentation of American poetry as a cosmopolitan venture seems to have been a key feature of *The Pagan* as a 'training ground', as demonstrated neatly by his review of Mimi Aguglia's *Salomé*. Crucial to Kling's cosmopolitan understanding of the poetic 'renascent period' was his own background, having apparently grown up in Russia, and his location in Greenwich Village. The social makeup of the Greenwich Village area—not just the literary tourists drawn to the self-mythologized Village—was crucial to Kling's editing of the magazine and it informed his notion of modern literature. In contrast to primarily monoglot mainstream journals, Kling reflects the sizable German, Polish, Italian and Russian speaking population of his contemporary New York.[172] Translations appeared from French (including from Verlaine), Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Norwegian, Chinese, German, Turkish, Yiddish, Danish, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Japanese and 'Indian Poems From the Sioux', the latter reflecting something of a dubious vogue in these contemporary magazines—and one Crane would also appropriate for 'Powhatan's Daughter'.[173]

This was a social and political issue that Kling foregrounded in his magazine. Randolph Bourne's famous essay in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 'Trans-national America', discussed the 'insist[ence] that the alien shall be forcibly assimilated to that Anglo Saxon tradition which they unquestioningly label "American".' Bourne calls for a 'spiritual welding' of the 'young intelligentsia', and a similar attitude was visible in *The Pagan* from its founding.[174] In practice this meant including a high proportion of works in translation: for instance, Fyodor Sologub's 'The White Dog' in the inaugural number, Gabriele D'Annunzio's one act play 'Francesca da Rimini' which ran from November-December 1916 to March 1917, and 'The Hero' in March 1919, Octave Mirbeau's 'The Pocketbook' in August 1916 and Anton Chekhov's 'Dushitka' in September 1917. Elsewhere, from a slightly younger generation, Kling published Knut Hamsun's 'The Conqueror' from the Norwegian, W. Perzynski's 'The Murder', translated from Polish, and Ovro-om Raisin's

[171] Crane, 'Aims', p. 162
[172] Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse University Press, 1972), pp. 93, 95.
[173] See Alice Corbin Henderson, 'Poetry of the North American Indian', review of *The Path on the Rainbow: An Anthology of Songs and Chants from the Indians of North America*, ed. by George W. Cronyn (1918), *Poetry,* 12.1. (April 1919), pp. 41-47.
[174] Randolph S. Bourne, 'Trans-National America', *The Atlantic Monthly*, 118.1 (July 1916), pp. 86–97.

'Silent Footsteps' from the Yiddish.[175] Kling invariably used these translated texts to open their respective numbers, framing the pieces that followed.

Elsewhere Kling left words and fragments untranslated. In a number that showcases Jewish literature he published his own 'In Re Judea et Al' (as 'Nichel') and plays with the word 'Americanism':

> Americanism! Americanism!
>
> Americanism! Americanism!
>
> Americani….[176]

This chanting shifts the word into a gendered ending unfamiliar to English. Similarly, a poem in Kling's 'Une Vie' is, perhaps pre-empting Crane's 'Chaplinesque', titled 'Pedagoguesesque', creating a pun that sits between English and French with 'Pedagogues que', or 'Pedagogue esque'.[177] Kling's playful use of cognates and words that sit between translations may have also influenced the young Eugene Jolas, whose 'Revolution of the Word' operates in a similar way.[178]

The Pagan seems to have been part of one strand of journals who understood the American literary 'renascent period' to be, necessarily, a cosmopolitan venture. *The Minaret* declared:

> We are not Cubists, Futurists or Imagists. We do not pretend to stand for the past or future, but for the present […] we are Americans interested in the literature of our own country, but we believe that by publishing in this magazine in the future, translations of the modern French and German poets, we are enriching our own literature.[179]

Kling's clear focus on works in translation, and deliberate non-translation, of phrases in his editorials illustrates his conviction that an American modernism or 'a renascent period in American poetry' must be multi-lingual.[180] For Kling, this 'renascent period' should not be driven by a strictly Anglo-Saxon tradition. Munson's insistence that Kling offered a 'training ground' for the 'young generation' is intriguing in this sense: Cowley, Munson,

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[175] Fyodor Sologub, 'The White Dog', *The Pagan*, 1.2. (June 1916), pp. 3-9; Octave Mirbeau, 'The Pocketbook', *The Pagan*, 4.1 (August 1916), pp. 10-31; Gabriele D'Annunzio, 'Francesca da Rimini', *The Pagan,* 1.7-8 (November-December 1916), pp. 3-30; 'The Hero', *The Pagan*, 3.2 (March 1919), pp. 12-15; Anton Chekhov, 'Dushitka', *The Pagan*, 5.2 (September 1917), pp. 3-11; Knut Hamsun, 'The Conqueror', *The Pagan*, 1.3 (July 1916), pp. 3-10; W. Perzynski, 'The Murder', *The Pagan*, 1.6 (October 1916), pp. 3-6; Ovro'om Raisin, 'Silent Footsteps', *The Pagan*, 1.6 (October 1916), pp. 25–27.

[176] Kling, 'In Re Judea et al', *The Pagan*, 1.3 (July 1916), pp. 43.44 (p. 43).

[177] Kling, 'Une Vie', p. 17. Also see Eliot's 'Humoresque: (After J. Laforgue)', published in the *Harvard Advocate,* as noted in Ricks's introduction *Inventions of the March Hare*, p. xii.

[178] See IV, pp. 151-212.

[179] As quoted in Bruno, 'Books and Magazines of the Week', *Bruno's Weekly*, 1.16 (6 November 1915), pp. pp. 177-78.

[180] James Oppenheim, Waldo Frank and Van Wyck Brooks, 'Editorial', *The Seven Arts*, 1.1 (November 1916), pp. 52–57.

Nagle, Jolas and Crane would all go on to edit or contribute to the transatlantic tendenz journals of the 1920s.

iv. Disenchantment, and publishing in *The Modernist* and *The Modern School*

In February 1919, Crane wrote to Carl Zigrosser, then editor of *The Modern School*, 'A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Libertarian Ideas In Education', chasing up the publication of 'To Portapovitch'.[181] Zigrosser had accepted the poem, but Crane had clouded the issue by impulsively suggesting that Rockwell Kent might illustrate the text, as he had Wallace Stevens's 'Earthy Anecdote' for the July 1918 number.[182] Crane felt his poem was 'particularly suitable for accompanying illustration.'[183] It was this 'crowning illustration' of Kent's, Crane said in his letter of 30 December 1918, that had 'tempted [him] to submit [a] lyric for like treatment.' In a following letter from 12 February, keen to secure publication, Crane clarified that he simply wanted the poem in *The Modern School* with its 'fine typography and woodcuts' and impressive roll call of contributors.[184] The journal was the mouthpiece for the Stelton Modern School, based in New Jersey's Stelton anarchist colony, and its editor, Zigrosser, who expanded its purview into the arts, had been roommates with Randolph Bourne at Columbia.[185] The Modern School programme, of which Emma Goldman was a key advocate, aimed to unseat the traditional American schooling system which it saw as a 'powerful instrument for the perpetuation of the present social order with all its injustice and inequality'.[186]

The Modern School shared aesthetic similarities with the Village magazines; perhaps unsurprisingly, the school had originally been based in the Village at St Mark's Place. Munson deemed it a journal of 'real distinction', partly due to its beautiful printing. *The Modern School* devoted most of its pages to innovative teaching methods, particularly learning through play and physical movement, including eurhythmics, and the importance of sex education. As Zigrosser put it, his aim was to 'make a beautiful thing' that would reflect the holistic educational methods of the modern school movement, while also providing 'a medium of expression for creative thinkers and artists. It deals with radical ideas in education, and by education I mean every activity that broadens and enhances

[181] Zigrosser edited the journal from April 1917 to April 1919, see Allan Antliff, 'Carl Zigrosser and *The Modern School*: Nietzsche, Art, and Anarchism', *Archives of American Art Journal*, 34.4 (1994), pp. 16-23.
[182] Stevens, 'Earthy Anecdote', ill. Rockwell Kent, *The Modern School*, 5.7 (July1918), p. 1.
[183] Crane to Zigrosser, 30 December 1918, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
[184] Crane to Zigrosser, 12 February 1919, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
[185] Paul Avrich, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Oakland, California: AK Press), p. 125.
[186] Ibid., pp. 172–175.

life.'[187] The journal also published regular articles on Irish independence, literary criticism, some poetry, prose and reviews. Its contributors included Stevens, Maxwell Bodenheim, Padraic and Mary Colum, Kreymborg, Munson, Rabindranath Tagore, Man Ray (who had been a student at the Village's Modern School[188]), Padraic Pearse, Lola Ridge, Kreymborg, Kent, and Crane himself.

Enquiring whether Zigrosser wanted to see more of his poetry, Crane advertised the unpartisan stance he had developed at *The Pagan* on avant-garde movements within contemporary poetry: 'I have no very strict prejudices regarding either vers libre or the established conventional.' In a fit of pique, Crane fired off this letter somewhat audaciously after Kling had rejected 'To Portapovitch'.[189] Writing on *Pagan* headed paper, he both advertised his position as 'Associate Editor' (stamped in the margin alongside 'E. O'Neill', presumably Eugene, who also published in *The Pagan*) and declared his frustrations with Kling's 'mysterious aesthetic touchstones.' Further emphasising what Crane hoped would be interpreted as an outsider status fitting for the magazine, he speculated, correctly, in correspondence to Zigrosser that his work was unwelcome at *The Little Review* due to 'Mr Pound's rabid dislike of my things.'[190] Zigrosser accepted the poem, and 'To Potapovitch [sic] (de la Ballet Russe)' appeared, with the title misspelled, in the March 1919 issue. The poem was written for Stanislav Portapovitch of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, with whom Crane, Carl Schmitt and Portapovitch's wife, Anna, had spent the summer of 1917 at Long Beach, and Portapovitch taught Crane the gotzotsky—his party trick.[191] Crane's poem with its 'vault[ing]' movements is complemented by an article on 'Ferrer School Entertainments' on the opposing page which detailed 'those few and fugitive performances' of the children's 'acting, dancing, singing' that seem 'prompted by the joy of life'.[192]

As far as Crane was concerned, the publication of 'To Portapovitch' in *The Modern School* was opportunistic, and marked his attempts to distance himself from *The Pagan* and Kling's 'mysterious aesthetic touchstones', and to find a publisher for a work that had been rejected by *The Little Review*, *The Liberator* and his mainstay until 1919, *The Pagan*.[193] Crane did, however, plan to send *The Modern School* more work, but suffered a period of writers' block, and Zigrosser stopped editing the journal early in April 1919.[194]

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[187] Zigrosser as quoted in Avrich, *Anarchism and Education*, p. 172.
[188] Avrich, *Anarchism and Education,* pp. 172–175.
[189] Crane to Zigrosser, c. Late January 1919; 12 February 1919, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
[190] Crane to Zigrosser, 12 February 1919, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
[191] Crane, *Unterecker,* pp. 92-93.
[192] Crane, 'To Portapovitch' [sic], *The Modern School*, 6.5 (March 1919), p. 80; John Edelman, 'Ferrer School Entertainments', *The Modern School*, 6.5 (March 1919), p. 81-82.
[193] Crane to Zigrosser, c. late January 1919, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
[194] Antliff, 'Carl Zigrosser', p. 23.

Like *The Modern School*, James Waldo Fawcett's *The Modernist* declared its commitment to be 'radical in policy: international in scope', 'devoted to the common cause of toiling people', 'overthrowing old falsehoods' and to act as 'a forum for active minds and vital art'.[195] The journal (which only managed a single issue) self-consciously declared 'modernism' to be art that 'interpret[s] the ideals and events which we ourselves have a part, the service of humanity.'[196] Crane's initial interest in Fawcett's journal was, as with *The Modern School*, opportunistic. These forays should not, then, be read as an attempt of Crane's to ally his poetry with radical politics. In fact, after *The Modernist* was published in November 1919, with Crane's 'Interior', 'Legende', and 'North Labrador', he attempted to distance himself from the journal entirely, and he seemed surprised that Fawcett had credited him with helping to edit the magazine by printing his name on the masthead. It was, he told Munson, 'jelly like mass', and he was 'quite astonished by the amount of literary rubbish [Fawcett] had managed to get into its confines'. Crane even considered writing 'a letter withdrawing [his] contributions', but was swayed by his 'dumb animal affection' for 'Waldo' and, for the want of other suitable outlets, the opportunity 'simply to have [his poetry] published'.[197]

While partly the result of Kling's rejection of 'To Portapovitch', it became necessary for Crane to expand his publishing networks beyond the Village, and this was his primary motivation in sending work to Zigrosser and Fawcett. Crane's submissions to *The Modern School* and *The Modernist* were partly a reflection of the wider changes in the literary climate as outlined by Cowley. After these brief engagements Crane turned his attentions to *The Dial* and *The Little Review*: journals that could offer Crane exposure and cultural capital in a non-programmatic environment. It was not, though, until the editors and contributors who had found a 'training ground' at *The Pagan* began to found journals in the early 1920s that Crane would find receptive and sympathetic outlets for his poetry, with *Broom* and *Secession*; both had significant influences on his poetic development.

These poetic shifts are well illustrated by the relationships between 'Carmen de Boheme' and 'The Wine Menagerie', and 'Porphyro in Akron' and 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen'.[198] Both 'Carmen' and 'Porphyro' see Crane grappling with new influences in two stages of poetic development that would be combined in the assimilative,

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[195] Unsigned, 'Platform', *The Modernist*, 1.1. (November 1919), unpaginated.
[196] Fawcett, secretary to the 'radical feminist' Margaret Sanger, was also a regular contributor to *Bruno's Weekly,* e.g., 'Poems and Other Things', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.6 (22 July 1916), p. 860. Biographical detail from Victoria Kingham, 'Audacious Modernity', *Modernist Magazines*, II, pp. 398-419 (p. 419).
[197] Crane's letter also makes his editing role seem minimal. As he told Munson 'your connection with it resulted in a waste of time', in Crane to Munson, *OML*, pp. 25-27 (p. 26).
[198] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete Poems*, p. 23-24; 'Porphyro in Akron', p. 53; 'Faustus II', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-1924), pp. 1-4.

urbane style of his later poetry. In the late 1910s Crane was, not uncommonly, attempting to deal with his conception of how tradition should be incorporated into his verse, through fin-de-siècle poetry, in the case of 'Carmen'. In the early 1920s he was attempting to tackle the new influences of American Futurism—as is clear in 'Porphyro'. 'Porphyro' and 'Faustus' offer a correlative to the developments between 'Carmen' and 'The Wine Menagerie' as Crane attempted to incorporate these fin-de-siècle influences. His experiments, as in 'Carmen' and 'C33' were, at first, highly imitative, while his initial attempts to engage with American Futurism were laced with irony, and more in line with work in mainstream journals such as *The American Magazine*, with, for instance, the subway described as 'cold and clammy and unnatural.'[199] As early as July 1918, Kling had published Lewys's 'San Francisco Under Fog' in a number also edited by Crane, which shows the beginnings of this strand of American futurist poetry:

> City of my dreams, like the pearl the dew
> Of fairyland is folding over you
> The vapored domes
> Of churches, and of less eternal homes
> Of civic and industrial wealth, are caught
> Together in a soft mirage, fraught
> With spiralled mists […][200]

Crane was initially sceptical of this aesthetic, as is made clear in the bathetic, sardonic references to 'ice boxes' and 'Fords' in 'Porphyro'. But, in 'Faustus' Crane begins to experiment with descriptions of skyscrapers as 'metallic paradise[s]', and the poem vaults from 'asphalt' to 'clouds'.[201] In both cases, the process of development is tracked in print, and the process of publishing then seems integral to the development of Crane's mode. Similarly, while 'Carmen' straightforwardly reproduces elements of Bizet's opera, and 'C33' Wildean tropes, in 'The Wine Menagerie' he works through Baudelaire's 'Enivrez-Vous' and *Les Paradis Artificiels* and, through careful allusion, he stitches together a text that sits uncomfortably between homage and pastiche.[202] These gestures to other forms and tropes associated with previous eras are, it seems, 'borrowed' rather than the complex engagement with allusion that is clear in Crane's later poems, as in 'The Wine Menagerie', which relies heavily on allusive fragments, but these are applied in a more deliberate manner than the 'borrowings' of the early poems (see p. 132).[203] Identifying these strands of affinity with

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[199] Mary Heaton Vorse, 'The Fatal Hash', *The American Magazine*, 70.6 (October 1916), pp. 843-850 (p. 850).
[200] The poem is aligned right in *The Pagan*, Lewys, 'San Francisco Under Fog', p. 26, ll. 1-7.
[201] Crane, 'Porphyro in Akron', p. 53, ll. 25-26; 'Faustus II', p. 3, l. 24, p. 1, l. 9.
[202] See pp. 131-132.
[203] See Ricks's distinction between 'allusion' and 'borrowing' in *Inventions of the March Hare,* p. xxiii.

texts from both Crane's contemporaries and older generations illuminates the construction of later texts. Given the necessary interest of 'the logic of metaphor' in intertextual allusion—as well as the individual associative qualities of words and phrases—analysing Crane's formative use of 'borrowing' and allusion in the late 1910s is crucial to unpicking the genealogy of the 'logic', a form based on collage principles, as it developed in the mid-1920s. Crane integrated this collage-like principle into the microstructures of his later poetry, utilising this technique of juxtaposition so that isolated metaphors are made up of minute, juxtaposed images, that use surreal combinations to create the overall impression of the object in question.

II

'Are you futuristic or are you not?': The 'Exile' Journals

> But Dada was also a discovery: that nonsense may be the strongest form of ridicule; that writing is often worst when it is most profound, saintly, or devoted, and best when it is approached in a spirit of play; that associational processes of thought often have more force than the logical.
>
> Cowley to Frank in an open letter published in *1924*.[1]

> But in his own poetry there is a more synthetic construction. […] Brick by brick, Hart Crane conceives of his skyscrapers like a cathedral.
>
> Antonio Marichalar, 'La estética de retroceso y la poesía de Hart Crane', review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *Revista de Occidente* (1927).[2]

Considerable light is shed on Crane's poetic development by examining his relationship with a cluster of interconnected magazines, *Gargoyle, Secession*, *Broom*, *1924*, *Aesthete* and *The Little Review*. These poetic changes were both formal and theoretical and, as well as determining the aesthetics of 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen' and the 'Voyages', laid the groundwork for *The Bridge*, the project that 'carries on the tendencies of "F and H."'[3] Crane's involvement with two of the 'exile journals', *Secession* and *Broom*, had a particular impact on the formal concerns of his poetry. Through the arguments between these journals—particularly between Munson, editor of *Secession* and his former assistant, Matthew Josephson, who moved to *Broom* in 1923—Crane began introducing 'machine age' details (a term active in avant-garde American literary circles as early as 1915)[4] to his poetry and began formulating his 'logic of metaphor'. The 'logic' bears comparison with similar experiments by the 'allied Frenchmen' publishing in the 'exile journals' (primarily Anglophone magazines founded and edited by Americans in Paris) and closely related journals publishing in their shared networks, such as *1924*, *S4N* and *Aesthete, 1925*.[5] Both *1924* and *S4N* were dominated by *Secession* and *Broom* contributors after they ceased publishing. *S4N*, edited by Norman Fitts, produced a whole issue on the strand of

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[1] 'Are you futuristic or are you not? [...] Two years ago I wrote a poem which I said was futuristic. Two years ago, I believe you were fond of Remy de Gourmont.' Malcolm Cowley to Matthew Josephson, 10 May 1922, box 1, folder 13, Harold Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton); Cowley to Frank, 'Communications on Seriousness and Dada',*1924*, 1.4 (December 1924), pp. 140-141.

[2] Marichalar, 'Hart Crane', pp. 260-263 (p. 263).

[3] Crane began work on *The Bridge* early in 1923. Crane to Munson, 6 February 1923, *OML*, pp. 122-24.

[4] Emmy Veronica Sanders, 'America Invades Europe', *Broom*, 1.1 (November 1921), pp. 89-93 (p. 89). 'Machine age' was a term active in *Broom* (a concordance shows 15 mentions). Data collected using The Blue Mountain Project, accessed 3.5.16.

[5] Munson, '*Secession* Announcement', c. Spring 1922, box 1, folder 1, Crane Papers (Kent).

American Futurism discussed in the 'exile' journals, which included a comment from Munson and Crane's 'America's Plutonic Ecstasies', a parody of another regular contributor to these journals, E. E. Cummings. 'Faustus' and the 'Voyages' sequence both first appeared in these magazines. 'Faustus' first appeared in *Broom* in February 1923, then twice in *Secession* later in the year.[6] The first publication from the 'Voyages' was with 'Poster' in *Secession* in January 1923. In the same month Crane sent him 'Belle Isle' (later, 'Voyages VI'), hoping Munson's interest in 'Poster' would be conferred on the new 'sea poem'.[7] Munson rejected 'Belle Isle' and it was significantly revised before it appeared in a number of *The Little Review* edited by Josephson.[8] 'Voyages IV' was published in the December number of *1924*, a Woodstock-based journal funded by Otto Kahn (probably Crane's first connection to Kahn) with the final four published in *The Little Review*'s Spring-Summer 1926 issue.[9] Through their piecemeal publication both poems highlight theoretical questions that interested Crane surrounding the fragment and the assembled text—ideas that Crane would continue to explore through the fragmentary publication of *The Bridge* later in the decade.

The 'exile journals', *Broom*, *Secession* and *Gargoyle*, were founded in the early 1920s in the wake of the lively, and often politically radical, Greenwich Village publications, after the majority had ceased publishing after the war—often due to increasing pressure from the censors. The 'renascent period' in American literature was advertised from the varied pages of Village publications, discussed in Chapter I. By 1920, all but *The Pagan* had ceased publishing, though Kling's journal followed suit in 1922. Post-war, the Village seemed to have lost its bohemian cachet. It had, as *Secession* and *Broom* assistant editor, Malcolm Cowley, describes it in *Exile's Return*, developed a 'pervading atmosphere of middle-agedness' and 'salvation' was to be found only 'by exile' in Europe.[10] The first Village editor to move to Europe to found an 'exile' journal was Arthur Moss, who left *The Quill* to begin *Gargoyle* in Paris, with, for a short period, Munson as an assistant editor.

Gargoyle's first number appeared in August 1921. *Broom* and *Secession* were founded shortly afterwards, with their inaugural issues in August 1921 and April 1922, respectively. This first generation of 'exile journals' was followed in the late 1920s by *transition* and *larus: the celestial visitor*, which were both edited from Paris and drew on a similar pool of

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[6] Crane, 'Springs', *Broom*, 4.2 (January 1923), pp. 131-32; 'Faustus I', *Secession*, 1.6 (September 1923), pp. 1-4; 'Faustus II', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-4), pp. 1-4.
[7] Crane to Munson, c. January 1923, box 22, Crane/Munson Correspondence (Columbus);
[8] Crane, 'Voyages' ['II', 'III', 'V', 'VI'], *The Little Review*, 12.1 (Spring-Summer 1926), pp. 13-15.
[9] Seaver, *So Far So Good: Recollections of a Life in Publishing* (Westport: Lawrence Hill, 1986), p. 99, 101; 'Poster' ['Voyages I'], *Secession*, 1.4 (January 1923), p. 20; 'Voyages' ['IV'], *1924*, 1.4 (December 1924), p. 119.
[10] Cowley, *Exile's Return,* pp. 70, 74.

contributors as the first generation of publications in the early 1920s.[11] While lamenting his own inability to write—he managed just two lines between November 1920 and February 1921, when he began 'Black Tambourine'—Crane commented that he was 'either bewildered or else indifferent' to the 'deluge of production' with, yet, 'so little at stake.'[12] 'The "arty" book stores', he told Munson in January 1922, 'bulge and sob' with the weight of 'magazines', and the 'mediocre' or 'safe' journals operating in the U.S. would 'take your work however good or bad it is.'[13] Crane's apathy infected his approach to publishing during this period. In letters he simply describes opportunistically 'selling' his poems to the 'uneven' *Double Dealer* and *The Measure.*[14] As he wrote to Munson, then based in Paris, in 1921: 'send me some poetry. It's sure to be better than anything the magazines offer here.'[15]

Prior to the launch of *Broom*, and *Secession*, Crane was keeping abreast of the latest developments in European literature through *La Nouvelle Revue Française, The Little Review* and, briefly, *Gargoyle.*[16] *The Dial*, Crane complained, was publishing established European writers, including Thomas Mann and Oswald Spengler, and was not 'printing the younger crowd of any country'.[17] Crane was interested in the literary experiments associated with Paris Dada, envying Sherwood Anderson's trip to Paris that 'put him in direct touch with all the younger crowd in France.'[18] That said, he was initially sceptical of attempts by U.S. writers to adopt their ideas. Crane found that, in Josephson's hands, the inclusion of 'machine age' details, such as 'radios, flying machines, and cinemas' amounted to 'surface phenomena', turning the work into 'his picture of the "period"'.[19] It was, Crane told Munson, 'like coffee-twenty-four-hours afterward not much remains to work with.'[20] However, these tropes—so derided in this assessment of one of Josephson's contributions to *Secession*—appear in *The Bridge.*[21] Through the arguments over these ideas, with their interrogation in critical and creative contributions to these journals, Crane began

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[11] *larus* also had an editor, J. S. Mangan, in Lynn, Massachusetts. Front matter, *larus: the celestial visitor*, 1.2 (March 1927).
[12] Unterecker, *Voyager*, pp. 187-8; Mariani, *Broken Tower*, p. 74; Crane to Munson, 2 February 1922, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[13] Crane to Munson, 23 January 1922, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[14] Crane to Munson, 9 September 1921, *Letters*, p. 64; To Munson, 25 December 1921, *OML*, pp. 75-77 (p. 76).
[15] Crane to Munson, 26 November 1921, *OML*, pp. 71-73 (p. 73).
[16] Crane to Munson, 23 January 1922, box 19, Crane Papers (New York), where Crane comments admiringly on a waitress 'reading *La Nouvelle Revue Française'* in a French restaurant in Cleveland; To Charmion von Wiegand, 6 May 1922, *Letters*, p. 85; To Munson 26 November 1921 (on Jean Cocteau in *The Little Review*), *OML,* pp. 71-3 (p. 72); To Munson, 25 May *OML*, pp. 86-88 (p. 87).
[17] Crane to Tate, 15 February 1923, *OML*, p. 130. See Chapter III, pp. 104-135.
[18] Crane to Wiegand, 6 May 1922, *Letters*, p. 85.
[19] Crane discusses this issue more generally at length in the 'Aims', *Poems and Letters,* p. 161.
[20] Crane to Munson, 19 April 1922, *Letters*, p. 84.
[21] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *Complete Poems,* p. 43, ll. 9, 17; 'The River', *Complete Poems,* p. 57, l. 15; 'Cape Hatteras', *Complete Poems,* p. 78, ll. 45-6.

developing his own assimilative mode that could incorporate these 'machine age' details without turning the text into 'useless archaeology'.[22]

Crane's process of 'assimilation' (a term used by both ex-*Pagan* editors, Crane and Munson) was similarly rooted in his engagement with these journals.[23] During his involvement with *Secession* and *Broom* Crane was also experimenting with his associative 'logic of metaphor'. The 'logic', when resituated in these periodical contexts, seems very much informed by the experiments in associative, juxtaposed metaphor in the work of Louis Aragon, Philippe Soupault, and other 'allied Frenchmen'.[24] The combination of these twin developments, rooted in Crane's periodical contexts, pushed his movement from the experiments in Imagism and Decadence that characterise his early verse, and the nihilistic view of the city in 'Porphyro', to, anticipating *The Bridge*, the reconstructive, euphoric impression of New York in 'Faustus' built, like the 'Voyages' through this complex associative mode.

These journals proved to be receptive organs for Crane's experiments. The 'Voyages' received poetic responses from Edwin Seaver in the first number of his publication, *1924* and from Malcom Cowley in the Spring-Summer 1926 number of *The Little Review,* alongside the last four of the 'Voyages'.[25] Prior to the publication of 'Voyages' ('IV') in the December number of *1924*, both of Crane's contributions were coterie poems, and Cowley responded to the published poems from the 'Voyages' with 'Hart Crane', part of a sequence dedicated to his literary friends in *The Little Review*.[26] Crane's first publications in *1924* were in the inaugural July issue with 'Sunday Morning Apples (To William Sommer)' and 'Interludium (to 'La Montagne' by Lachaise)'.[27] The poems opened the number, and by addressing artists associated with *1924* they announced that this was a coterie publication. The coterie atmosphere of *Secession* and *Broom* was continued in *1924* with Seaver's publication of further, highly specialist, arguments between Josephson and Cowley and Munson and Frank (the 'Broomides', as they called themselves, versus the 'Secessionists').[28] Similarly, Crane's 'Eight More Harvard Poets' in *S4N* reviews a group that was, through Cowley and John Brooks Wheelwright, associated with *Secession* and *Broom*. *S4N* continued the debates between *Broom* and *Secession*. This began with Munson's

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[22] Crane, 'General Aims', p. 161.
[23] Crane, 'General Aims', p. 162; Munson, 'Tinkering with Words', review of Matthew Josephson, *Galimathias* (1923), *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-1924), pp. 30-31 (p. 31).
[24] Munson, '*Secession* Announcement', c. Spring 1922, box 1, folder 1, Hart Crane Papers (Kent).
[25] Crane, 'Voyages' ['IV'], *1924*, p. 119; Crane, 'Voyages' ['II', 'III', 'V', 'VI'], *The Little Review,* pp. 13-15; Seaver, 'A Poem', *1924,* 1.2 (August 1924), p. 39
[26] Cowley, 'Hart Crane', in 'Anthology', *The Little Review*, 12.1 (Spring-Summer, 1926), pp. 33-36.
[27] Crane, 'Sunday Morning Apples', *1924* 1.1. (July 1924), p. 1; 'Interludium (to 'La Montagne' by Lachaise)', *1924* 1.1. (July 1924), p. 2.
[28] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, pp. 180-185; Josephson, *Surrealists*, pp. 159-61, 234-367, 263-265; Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, pp. 184-86.

'Mechanics for a Literary "Secession"' in the November 1922 number. Munson announced that he had 'founded *Secession*' for a 'group' of 'kindred writers like Slater Brown, Hart Crane, and Foster Damon', all then also publishing in *S4N*. 'I invite the readers of *S4N*', wrote Munson, 'to partake as they see fit'. [29] The piece was followed by a response '*Secession*?' by Richard Bassett commenting on Munson's 'aggressive note', and touching on the 'aesthetic problems' debated in the 'exile' journals over Munson's interest in 'technical' and formal issues, versus Josephson's interest in the poetic subjects of 'machine age' modernism that would cause the editors to split, and would eventually result in their 'wrestling' in a swamp in upstate New York.[30] In a later number, Norman Fitts printed further responses from Munson, Toomer, and Pierre Loving. These included 'The *Secession* Programme' and a mocking article 'Gorham B. Lessing',[31] which commented on the 'esotericism' of Stein, Crane and Josephson and argued that 'words are made to express thought', not to 'conceal' it.[32] Incredibly, Munson, Cowley and Josephson would continue to rework these debates in *Contempo* in the early 1930s, and then in their respective autobiographies which appeared in later decades.[33]

Although the writing and publication processes of 'Faustus' and the 'Voyages' were markedly different, an analysis of their publishing histories highlights Crane's continued experimentation with long form poetry. Both cases show Crane's conception of the long form poem as a distinctly fragmented whole. Part II of 'Faustus' was published as 'The Springs of Guilty Song' in *Broom* in February 1923 after Crane impulsively decided to split the poem.[34] Josephson had persuaded Crane to reassemble 'Faustus', but *Broom* went to press before Crane's response arrived.[35] This individual publication emphasises the ability of the component parts to function individually, almost as a triptych rather than a text in strict narrative progression. In the version of the poem published in the Winter 1923-1924 number of *Secession*, after the journal printed a 'morcelled' version in September, the formal

[29] Munson, 'The Mechanics for a Literary *Secession*', *S4N*, 3.21 (November 1922), pp. 1-9.
[30] Richard Bassett, *'Secession'*, *S4N,* 3.21 (November 1922), pp. 10-13; Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 185; Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 184.
[31] Playing, presumably, on an allusion to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.
[32] Munson, 'Comment', *S4N*, 4.24 (January-February 1923), pp. 22-23; Toomer, 'Open Letter to Gorham B. Munson', *S4N*, 4.25 (March-April 1923), pp. 10-11; Pierre Loving, 'The *Secession* Programme', *S4N*, 4.26-29, pp. 52-26; David P. Berenberg, 'Gorham B. Lessing', *S4N*, 4.26-29 (May-August 1923), pp. 65-67.
[33] Munson, 'Questions for Cowley', *Contempo*, 1.14 (15 December 1931), p. 1; Cowley, 'Munsonia', *Contempo*, 1.15 (1 January 1932), p. 1.
[34] Crane also asked Munson's advice, to Munson, 29 September 1922, *OML*, pp. 106-07 (p. 106).
[35] Crane to Matthew Josephson, 6 November 1922; 12 December 1922; 2 March 1923, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton); To Harold Loeb, 11 May 1923, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers. Princeton.

emphasis, then, becomes focused on the reassembly of the poem.[36] The first of the 'Voyages' appeared as a discrete lyric, 'Poster', in *Secession* in January 1923, long before Crane decided to expand the sequence into six-parts. This decision was made after Crane noticed the connections between a new poem, 'Belle Isle' ('VI') and 'Poster' ('I'). The 'Voyages' are something of a hybrid; the first two parts were simply taken from pre-existing lyrics, used almost as book-ends for the sequence, with Crane formulating the rising drama of the internal sections later. The 'Voyages' did not appear as an assembled sequence until their publication in *White Buildings* in 1926 and, judging by his letters, it was not until November 1924 that Crane had decided to expand 'Poster' and 'Belle Isle' into his 'six sea poems', and by 1925 he had a fair draft of the sequence.[37] Perhaps as evidence of his indecision, he published 'IV' in *1924* under the 'Voyages' title.[38] Through their periodical publications, both the 'Voyages' and 'Faustus' demonstrate Crane's experimentation with the fragment's relation to the whole long poem (see pp. 155-160 on the fragment and the whole). Crane applies pressure to their structures by writing into these texts the ability to function outside of the prescribed sequence—even in a completely different arrangement in *The Little Review*—and the act of deconstruction and reassembly as a larger whole becomes central to the form of the texts.

i. 'Another small magazine': *The Double Dealer* and *The Measure*

Before *Secession*'s founding, Crane felt that he had few responsive outlets for his poetry. In the early twenties, most likely coloured by his frequent rejections from both journals, Crane wrote that he found *The Dial* 'safe…despite its protests to the contrary', and marked by a 'deep and dirgefull attitude', while *The Little Review* was 'overly temperamental' in its tastes.[39] After severing ties with *The Pagan* and single appearances in *The Modern School* and *The Modernist* followed by a period of inactivity between October 1920 and January 1921 when Crane wrote very little poetry, he began looking for new publishers. He appeared in *The Double Dealer*, and *The Measure,* but did not build a particular relationship with either journal.

Crane had one publication in *The Measure*, a widely distributed journal predominantly interested in more traditional poetry, claiming that they 'would not accept

[36] See pp. 72-81 for a full discussion of the 'garbled' edit. 'Garbled' was Waldo Frank's assessment in Frank to Crane, 21 February 1923, box 6, Crane Papers (New York).
[37] Crane, 'Voyages' MS, box 10, Crane Papers (New York), dated by Lohf to 1925 in *Manuscripts*, p. 15.
[38] Crane, 'Voyages' ['IV'], p. 119.
[39] Crane to Wiegand, January 20, 1923, *OML*, pp. 120-2.

the works of Amy Lowell and Louis Untermeyer. We prefer Conrad Aiken.'[40] The journal was run by a nine-person editing board that included Maxwell Anderson, Louise Bogan, Padraic Colum, Louis Townsend Nicholl, and Genevieve Taggard. Anderson identified two 'varieties' of contemporaneous American poetry that are revealing of how Crane's output, pre-*Secession,* sat among contemporary tastes:

> Whoever handles poetry in manuscript discovers there are two main varieties of verse written in the United States just now—one, a modern compound containing elements of Whitman, imagism and Greenwich Village—the other, a more traditional blend that may have everything in it from Chaucer to the Shropshire Lad.[41]

Crane's poetry between 1919 and 1922 was aligned with this former group. 'A Persuasion' appeared in *The Measure* in the October 1921 issue. 'A Persuasion' reads almost as a sketch for Helen in 'Faustus' as 'she' 'waits late at night', with hands 'drawn away'.[42] This was Crane's only publication in the journal, and Weber notes that the editors probably accepted the poem as a result of the 'intervention of Padraic Colum, Crane's old friend' who had written to the editors expressing his admiration for 'Black Tambourine', a poem using (for Crane) a relatively strict form in couplets and predominantly in iambic pentameter, that Colum may have hoped would spark the board's interest in the young poet.[43]

'Black Tambourine' was published in the most significant journal for Crane during this short period, *The Double Dealer*. It was through this New Orleans-based journal that Crane was introduced to Allen Tate, who became Crane's friend, reviewer, editor, and eventually the author of the foreword to *White Buildings,* after Eugene O'Neill failed to write his promised introduction.[44] After Crane's death Tate became a highly influential critic of Crane's poetry, popularising the notion of *The Bridge* as a 'grand failure' in his 'Hart Crane and the American Mind' in *Poetry*.[45] Crane's 'Locutions des Pierrots' and Tate's 'Euthanasia' appeared together in the May 1922 number, instigating a correspondence between the two poets which led to Crane's involvement with *The Fugitive*, which Tate was helping to edit at Vanderbilt.[46] Demonstrating the careful placement of these two contributions, Tate and Crane found a point of connection and this appearance initiated their correspondence, beginning a friendship that was highly significant for Crane's career, both in terms of his

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[40] The journal was sold in a variety of locations in New York, including Loeb's Sunwise Turn, as well as Boston, Schenectady, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Berkeley, San Francisco, Minneapolis, D.C., Paris (at Shakespeare and Co.) and in London at Henderson's. Front matter, *The Measure*, 1.1 (March 1921).
[41] Anderson, 'An Open Letter to Writers of Verse', *The Measure*, 1.2 (April 1921), p. 17.
[42] Crane, 'A Persuasion', *The Measure*, 1.7 (October 1921), p. 14, l. 1, 5.
[43] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 105; Crane, 'Black Tambourine', *The Double Dealer*, 1.6 (June 1921), p. 232; Crane to Munson, 22 July 1921, *Letters*, pp. 62-63.
[44] Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 408.
[45] Tate, 'American Mind', pp. 214-215.
[46] Crane, 'Locutions des Pierrots', *The Double Dealer*, 3.17 (May 1922), p. 261; Tate, 'Euthanasia', *The Double Dealer*, ibid., p. 262.

development and his reception, although Crane's contributions to *The Fugitive* were generally opportunistic. As well as reading and commenting on his drafts, Tate became Crane's editor at *The Fugitive*.[47] Crane's letters suggest that, unlike the 'exile' journals, he did not read *The Fugitive* with much enthusiasm and he published in the journal somewhat opportunistically, rather than as a result of his agreement with its editorial principles; Crane appeared in the journal once in 1923, and after *Secession, Broom, S4N* and *1924* had closed in 1925. *The Fugitive* was poorly received in New York; *The New York Times* described its rather formally conservative contributions as 'extremely mediocre', while their 'gift book phrases about moonlight and roses' did not suit Crane's growing interest in American Futurism.[48]

Edited by Julian Weis Friend and Basil Thompson, *The Double Dealer* was fashioned as a Southern equivalent to *The Dial* and *The Yale Review*, 'the only magazine[s] seriously attempting to publish […] literature of essential value', and also praised *The Pagan* (still publishing until 1922) for its 'high-intentioned' 'catholic scope' but, like Crane, found the journal too 'villagy'.[49] Crane had a similar view of *The Double Dealer*; both 'Black Tambourine' (June 1921), and 'Porphyro in Akron' (August-September 1921) had previously been sent to *The Dial*.[50] *The Double Dealer* was founded as a retort to H. L. Mencken's claims that the south was as culturally arid as 'the Sahara'.[51] 'The southern press is not culturally dead', wrote the editors in July 1921 alongside a new tagline: 'A National Magazine for The South', it was 'merely sleepy.'[52] After moving away from the Village journals, the New Orleans location appealed to Crane. While *The Double Dealer* was interested in showcasing new Southern writers—William Faulkner was one impressive discovery—a wider aim was to establish New Orleans as a Southern literary centre to rival Chicago and New York, with their established journals. To this end, the editors featured Chicago and New York in 'Letters' from both cities, illustrative of their conception of *The Double Dealer*'s function a 'progressive literary journal' attempting to 'support correspondent[s]' in both literary 'capitals'.[53]

After Crane sent *The Double Dealer* 'Black Tambourine', the editors—who, with links to *The Pagan* had probably read his prose in Kling's journal—asked Crane to submit

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[47] Crane and Tate's correspondence contains numerous enclosures of poetry from both. For instance, Tate's response to 'San Cristobel' ('Ave Maria') in Tate to Crane, 27 November 1926, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).

[48] As quoted in John L. Stewart, and second quote from Stewart, *The Burden of Time: the Fugitives and Agrarians* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1965), p. 25.

[49] Julian Weiss Friend and Basil Thompson, 'The Magazine in America', *The Double Dealer*, 1.3 (March 1921), p. 82. Other founding editors, who were less active throughout the journal: Albert Goldstein, Paul L. Godchaux, John McClure.

[50] See Appendix 1, Tables 6 and 7.

[51] H. L Mencken, 'The Sahara of the Bozart', *New York Evening Mail* (13 November 1917), pp. 157-168.

[52] Friend and Thompson, 'The Southern Press', *The Double Dealer*, 2.7 (July 1921), p. 6.

[53] Including in the first number of *The Double Dealer*, see Vincent Starrett's 'Chicago Letters', *Double Dealer* 1.1 (January 1921), pp. 28-31 (p. 28).

reviews and even, as Crane proudly told Munson, 'incorporated me in their list of contributors on their stationery.'[54] This resulted in his piece 'Sherwood Anderson' in the July 1921 number, accompanying Anderson's first appearance in the journal.[55] This initiated a brief period of prose writing activity for Crane. Crane was also working on an article on Pound (which remained unpublished and is now lost) for *Shadowland,* a New York film journal that also printed some poetry, prose and literary criticism. At the same time, Crane was working on 'Chaplinesque' (published in the Parisian *Gargoyle* in December), and was looking for a 'foothold' in this journal that he deemed similar, but ultimately 'more interesting' than *Vanity Fair*.[56]

The Double Dealer did not, though, sustain Crane's interest, and, he was highly irritated by 'quite a bad typographical error' in 'Black Tambourine' that turned 'mingle' to 'mingling' in the last line. 'It quite destroys the sense of the thing', he told Munson, adding that he found the journal to be of 'exceedingly uneven quality'.[57] However, having been surprised that *The Double Dealer* took 'such a Baudelairesque thing' as 'Black Tambourine', he suspected the journal would be a useful outlet for two projects: a 'Vildrac translation' (again, that did not appear) and his translations of Laforgue's 'Locutions des Pierrots', with the latter published in the May 1922 number.[58] After Munson launched *Secession*, Crane's interest in these journals rapidly dissipated and, though *The Double Dealer* and *The Measure* continued publishing until 1926, and *The Fugitive* until 1925, Crane shifted his interests to the 'exile' journals in 1922.

ii. 'Exile Journals': founding and editing *Broom* and *Secession*

The 'exile journals', *Broom*, *Secession* and *Gargoyle*, were founded in the early 1920s in the wake of the Greenwich Village publications, the majority of which had ceased publishing by the late 1910s. Like Crane, Munson had started his career in the tightly-knit periodical networks of Greenwich Village. By 1921, as Munson put it, *Secession* became 'necessary', after the 'final disappointment' of *Broom*.[59] Crane was equally dissatisfied with journals he was engaged with in the first years of the twenties. *The Dial* and *The Little Review* were

[54] Crane to Munson, 8 July 1921, *Letters*, pp. 60-61 (p. 61).
[55] Crane, 'Sherwood Anderson, *The Double Dealer*, 2.7 (July 1921), pp. 42-45.
[56] Unterecker, pp. 210-11; Crane to Munson, 8 July 1921, *Letters*, pp. 60-61 (p. 61).
[57] Crane to Munson, 16 June 1921, *Letters*, p. 59-60 (p. 60).
[58] Crane to Munson, 21t May 1921, *Letters,* p. 57-58 (p. 58).
[59] Munson, '*Secession* Announcement', c. Spring 1922, box 1, folder 1, Hart Crane Papers (Kent).

sending back his poems, and, he had been publishing opportunistically in the New Orleans based *Double Dealer*, and in the relatively conservative *Measure*.[60]

Munson's appointment at *Gargoyle* briefly provided Crane with a publishing outlet. *Gargoyle*'s contributors included Cowley, Robert Coates, H. D., Wyndham Lewis (who also had links to *Broom*, showing a connection between the American Futurists and the Vorticists[61]), Picasso, Laurence Vail, Man Ray, Georges Braques, Fernand Léger and Henri Matisse. Crane submitted four poems to Munson in November 1921 for consideration at *Gargoyle*, having had 'Garden Abstract' rejected by *Gargoyle* in June 1920, prior to Munson's appointment. Munson took all of Crane's poems, aside from 'Black Tambourine'.[62] *Gargoyle* printed 'Chaplinesque' in December 1921, a poem that had been hard to place, and had already been rejected by *The Double Dealer*, *The Little Review, The Dial*, and *The New York Post*.[63] In the following year *Gargoyle* published 'The Great Western Plains' (for which Crane was paid only $1) and 'The Fernery', in August and September, respectively.[64] However, Crane quickly deemed Moss's journal 'ineffectual' and 'not worth 35¢', though it was, while Munson was in post, a useful publishing outlet and its transatlantic concerns were significant to its appeal for Crane.[65]

Despite this, Crane felt Munson would be better served by working on his own writing than founding and editing a journal. In a letter to Munson in February 1922, just before *Secession*'s launch, Crane lamented his own writers' block, and drifted from comments on Munson's translations in *Gargoyle* (of which he added that the issue was not quite as 'poor' as he had expected) to a general appraisal of the literary scene to which he was either 'indifferent' to or found 'bewilder[ing]'.[66] As a result of this dissatisfaction, Crane had 'little or no enthusiasm' for *Secession* after the recent founding of journals that would, he felt, 'take your work' irrespective of quality (he had *The Fugitive*, *The Double Dealer*, and *The Measure* in mind).[67] He feared that without access to a large budget, the magazine would only be capable of affecting 'little repercussions', however 'full of compressed dynamite' it might be.[68] Despite this initial scepticism, and despite the fact that Crane only had two poems published in the journal (albeit with 'Faustus' appearing twice), the 'little

[60] See Appendix 1, Table 6.
[61] Lewis is listed as a 'Broomide' in Unsigned, 'Broomides', *Broom,* 1.3 (January 1922), p. 286.
[62] Crane to Munson, c. June 1920; 21 November 1921, *Letters*, p. 40 and pp. 70-71 (p. 71).
[63] See Appendix 1, Table 7.
[64] Crane to Munson, Thursday, late August 1922, *OML*, pp. 100-102 (p. 101); Crane, 'Chaplinesque', *Gargoyle*, 1.2 (December 1921), p. 24; 'The Great Western Plains', *Gargoyle*, 1.3 (August 1922), p. 7; 'The Fernery', *Gargoyle*, 1.4 (September 1922), p. 19.
[65] Crane to Munson, 25 May *OML*, pp. 86-88 (p. 87).
[66] Crane to Munson, 25 February 1922, *Letters*, pp. 79-80 (p. 79); See footnotes 13 and 14 (Chapter II).
[67] Crane to Munson, 23 January 1922, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[68] Crane to Munson, 23 January 1922, *OML*, pp. 80-81 (p. 81).

repercussions' of *Secession*, and its arguments with other journals, can be detected in Crane's poetry.

In the autumn of 1921, Munson moved to Paris where, after an introduction from Crane, he met Josephson and, through their discussions, founded *Secession* which, like *Broom*, was to be an 'exile' journal published from Europe. Like Crane, Munson found *The Little Review* overly 'personal' and 'represent[ing] nothing but the wandering preferences of its editors,' while *The Dial* was printing a 'catholic' and 'diffuse assortment of culture'.[69] Munson's final disappointment with *The Dial* was its failure to support the 'new generation of American writers', as was, he felt, encapsulated by its awarding of 'an established writer', Sherwood Anderson, the first *Dial* prize. Anderson, Munson points out, had published six books, and had magazines 'eager for his work.'[70] Controversy with other journals was central to Munson's marketing tactics; he declared in 1937 that an editor would attract 'writers with "names"' if 'the controversy is sharp enough to draw them in'.[71] On founding *Secession*, then, he chided *The American Mercury* as a magazine for 'adolescents', and singled out Louis Untermeyer and Paul Rosenfeld as 'custodians' of 'the general flabbiness of American criticism' and stated that *Broom*'s 'join[ing] the anthology classification' (the magazine shifted its interests after Munson had made this comment) was the 'final disappointment' that made *Secession* 'necessary'.[72] These accusations and 'hilarious comment' were part of *Secession*'s method of establishing its position as an avant-garde journal by antagonizing journals it deemed to have broader appeal.[73]

After the first number in April 1922, Munson appointed Josephson as a fellow 'director' of the journal from the August 1922 issue (the terminology borrowed from French journals) in order to 'represent more fully' Josephson's brand of 'machine age' modernism.[74] Josephson's involvement, which ended after the fourth number in January 1923, added to Crane's scepticism, and he worried that, with his influence, the journal would be too in the thrall of the 'insane jumble' of Dada. At the time of *Secession*'s founding he declared to Munson that he had 'by the straight and narrow path' swung 'to the south of the village DADA' and, 'abashed' would rather 'posture' with 'reverence before the statues of Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Chaucer, sundry others'.[75] Yet, by the end of *Secession*'s run Crane was so convinced of the magazine's value that he had published two spirited

[69] Munson, 'Exposé No. 1', *Secession*, 1.1 (April 1922), pp. 22-4 (p. 22)
[70] Ibid., p. 23.
[71] Munson, 'How to Run a Little Magazine', *The Saturday Review*, 15.22 (26 March 1937), pp. 3-4 and 14 (p. 14).
[72] Munson, '*Secession* Announcement', c. Spring 1922, box 1, folder 1, Hart Crane Papers (Kent).
[73] Munson, 'Interstice', p. 30.
[74] Josephson, 'Made in America', *Broom*, 2.3 (June 1922), pp. 226-70 (p. 269).
[75] Crane to Munson, 23 January 1922, *OML*, pp. 80-81 (p. 81).

defences of *Secession* in *The Little Review* and *1924* (the latter a hitherto undocumented piece using a pseudonym from 'Faustus', 'Religious Gunman' that defended *Secession* via an attack on one of its principal critics, Amy Lowell).[76] Furthermore, as well as receiving the *Secession* programme in advance and soliciting contributions, Crane acted as an informal distributor for the journal.[77] Though he remained characteristically ambiguous about the place of his own work in the journal, he was, at least in the eyes of *The Fugitive* and *S4N*, a '*Secessionist*'.[78] *The Fugitive*'s note was appended to their declaration that Crane had been shortlisted for their Nashville prize. Crane's place on the shortlist was no doubt helped by the fact that Munson was on the panel and, presumably, the source of an anonymous note on Crane's 'especially distinguished' poem from one of the judges.[79] Crane had become gradually interested in *Secession* as it explored the possibilities of American Futurism while maintaining an interest in 'researches for new forms' and, as he put it to Charmion von Wiegand, 'tradition while at the same time being far more daring in its experiments than *The Dial*.'[80]

Munson outlined his plans for the journal, including the printing locations, in an 'Announcement' circulated in early 1922:

> SECESSION Instigated at Paris, opens fire this spring at Vienna, will march on Berlin, and eventually establish itself in New York. *Secession* is an organ for the youngest generation of American writers who are moving away from the main body of intelligent writing in the United States since 1910. They are defining a new position from which to assault the last decade and to launch the next. 'Form, simplification, strangeness, respect for literature as an art with traditions, abstractions…these are the catchwords that are repeated most often among the younger writers.'—Malcolm Cowley. *Secession* aims to be the first gun of the younger generation. It will publish stories, poems, criticisms, insults and vituperations by Slater Brown, Kenneth Burke, Donald B. Clark, Malcolm Cowley, Hart Crane, E.E. Cummings, Matthew Josephson, Marianne Moore, Wallace Stevens and by certain allied Frenchmen, Guillaume Apollinaire, Louis Aragon, André Breton, Paul Eluard, Philippe Soupault and Tristan Tzara. It will, in its early numbers, expose the private correspondence, hidden sins and secret history of its American contemporaries, *The Dial, Little Review*, *Broom*, *Poetry*, et

[76] Crane as "Religious Gunman", 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock', pp. 136-39.
[77] On the programme: Crane to Munson, 29 September 1922, *Letters*, p. 101; Crane wrote to Tate urging him to contribute, 16 May 1922, and on distribution: to Munson, 25 May 1922, *OML*, pp. 83-84 (p. 83), pp. 86-88 (p. 87).
[78] Unsigned, 'Notes on Contributors', *The Fugitive*, 2.8 (August 1923), p. 127.
[79] Ibid. 'Stark Major', ibid., p. 120.
[80] Munson, 'Exposé No. 1,' p. 22; Crane to Wiegand, 20 January 1923, *OML*, pp. 120-122 (p. 121).

> cetera. It already notes in current literature very much that demands hilarious comment.[81]

As Munson writes in the 'Announcement', publishing Anglophone writers alongside Europeans, coupled with the journal's projected movement through European publishing locations before 'establishing itself in New York', was, apart from taking advantage of the dollar's relative strength in Europe post-war, intended to make a literary-political statement.[82] These 'Frenchmen' (by which Munson meant male writers based in Paris) were to be 'allies' not 'leaders'.[83] Using New York as the final location for *Secession* (a plan Josephson and Cowley copied after taking over *Broom*) was an attempt to state the importance of the city as a literary space of global influence. As Josephson put it, in distinctly Futuristic terms in 'Apollinaire: Or Let Us Be Troubadours' in the first number of *Secession*:

> […] the conviction comes that Americans need play no subservient part in this movement. It is no occasion for aping European or Parisian tendencies. Quite the reverse, Europe is being Americanized. American institutions, inventions, the very local conditions of the United States are being duplicated, are being 'put over' daily in Europe. One has only to visit Berlin, for instance, in 1922 to witness this phenomenon. The complexion of the life of the United States has been transformed so rapidly and so daringly that its writers and artists are rendered a strategic advantage. They need only react faithfully and imaginatively to the brilliant minutiae of her daily existence in the big cities, and in the great industrial regions, athwart her marvellous and young mechanical forces.[84]

Both Munson and Josephson were restating the cultural project that guided an earlier generation of magazines. The 'Announcement' and Josephson's 'Apollinaire' declared *Secession*'s aim to work against what Bourne (who Munson cited as a predominant intellectual influence in *Awakening Twenties*), writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1914, identified as a 'cultural humility' present in American writing that could 'only have the effect of making us feeble imitators'.[85] This concept was crucial to the founding of

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[81] Munson, '*Secession* Announcement', c. Spring 1922, box 1, folder 1, Hart Crane Papers (Kent).
[82] 'Secession is printed in Central Europe which gives it the advantage of a peculiar arithmetic: $5.00 = $25.00 $30.00 =$150.00', 'Peculiar Arithmetic', The editors, *Secession*, 1.2 (July 1922), p. 53.
[83] Josephson, 'Apollinaire: Or Let Us Be Troubadours', *Secession*, 1.1 (April 1922), pp. 9-13 (p. 13). By 'allied Frenchmen' Munson meant based in Paris. I think Munson did, specifically, mean male writers. Only one contribution from a woman was published in the entire eight issues of *Secession*. This came from Moore with 'Bowls', in *Secession*, 1.5 (July 1923), pp. 12-13, in a number edited not by Munson, but by Cowley and Wheelwright.
[84] Josephson, 'Apollinaire', p. 13.
[85] Bourne, 'Our Cultural Humility', *The Atlantic Monthly*, 114.3 (October 1914), pp. 503-507 (p. 506).

Bourne's own journal, *The Seven Arts*, as well as *The Pagan* and *Others* and informed the editing policy of *The Dial* and *Poetry*, though to different effect than the 'exile' journals.[86]

Like *Secession*, *Broom* was launched and published from the 'revered places' of Europe, and distributed in the U.S., Italy, France, Holland and the U.K. with the declaration that '*Broom* is selecting from the continental literature of the present time the writers of exceptional quality […] these will appear side by side with the contemporary effort in Great Britain and America.'[87] As Loeb put it to Cowley in 1922: 'above all [*Broom* is] a positive note to contrast with the persisting weeping over the fact that America is not Europe.'[88] The first issue was printed in Rome in November 1921, complete with a frontispiece from the Italian Futurist painter Ernesto Prampolini, and appeared on 'fine paper' with full page inserts of reproductions of paintings, including Joseph Stella's *Brooklyn Bridge*, at an expensive 50¢ per copy.[89] Financed partly by Loeb's selling of his share in the Sunwise Bookshop, then, later, his inheritance (his mother was Rose Guggenheim), the journal was initially edited by Loeb and Kreymborg, whom Loeb appointed in the hope that his 'established literary reputation would help the magazine off the ground'.[90] The magazine started as 'a sort of clearing house', with a 'catholic' and 'anthological editing policy'.[91] In its early numbers the journal featured contributions from Conrad Aiken, Amy Lowell, Lola Ridge, Louis Untermeyer, Sherwood Anderson, Wallace Stevens and Harold Monro. The journal also began with a clear interest in literary criticism, with Aiken's 'The Function of Criticism', Untermeyer's 'Einstein and the Poets' and Emmy Veronica Sanders's 'America Invades Europe' all in the inaugural number.[92] This focus on criticism, and the contributors associated with the journal, shifted sharply after the third number—a move which led to Kreymborg's resignation after its publication in January 1922. Loeb's change in editing policy essentially formed a new journal. Hoffman, Ulrich and Allen note that '*Broom* is actually 'two magazines under one name.'[93] The new look *Broom* featured Cowley, Josephson, William Slater Brown, Gertrude Stein (whose inclusion led Ridge to resign as American editor[94]), Jean Cocteau, reprints from Guillaume Apollinaire and Philippe Soupault, as well as Winters, William Carlos Williams and Virginia Woolf. Loeb's

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[86] See Chapter III, pp.139-140.
[87] See *Broom*, 1.1 (November 1921), front matter.
[88] Loeb to Cowley, 2 May 1922, to Malcolm Cowley, box 1, folder 11, Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton). Loeb was Hemingway's inspiration for Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises*, ed. by Seán Hemingway (New York: Scribner, 2014).
[89] Loeb, *The Way It Was* (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), p. 75; Stella, *Brooklyn Bridge*, painting: photographic reproduction, *Broom*, 1.1 (November 1921), p. 2.
[90] Loeb, *The Way It Was,* pp. 2-6.
[91] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 168.
[92] Aiken, 'The Function of Criticism', *Broom*, 1.1 (November 1921), pp. 33-38; Untermeyer, 'Einstein and the Poets', ibid., pp. 84-86; Emmy Veronica Sanders, 'America Invades Europe', ibid., pp. 89-93.
[93] Hoffman, Ulrich, Allen, *Little Magazines*, p. 261.
[94] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 231.

new ideas for the journal were articulated in his essay, 'The Mysticism of Money' where Loeb discusses a literature that might embrace 'advertising', 'curved belt lines of machinery' and the 'possibility of steel' architecture in 'geometrical forms' that 'rise in great tooth like rows, incisors and molars, cubes and pyramids'. Like Crane outlining the thinking behind 'Faustus', Loeb comments on the possibilities of 'a combination of advertising and talking machines' of the 'barbaric totem beat with the exotic accompaniment of gongs, conches, syrens and voices' of 'jazz tunes', and of a 'narrative technique' where, as in Crane's statements in letters, 'the essential ingredient is speed'.[95] These arguments over 'machine age' modernism would come to define the 'exile' journals, and would shape Crane's poetry through his engagement in their debates.

iii. Tensions over American Futurism

Secession was somewhat split between Josephson's interest in the use of 'industrial' tropes and 'mechanical forces' and Munson's idea for *Secession* as a 'technical journal' that would focus on 'form and strangeness'. [96] Crane's developing poetry sat between the concerns of these two editors. Munson's focus on form drew comment from Amy Lowell in 'Two Generations in American Poetry', an article for *The New Republic* in 1923 that prompted Crane's response, 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock' in *1924*. Lowell had met Munson and Kenneth Burke (briefly appointed a 'director') in New York, and her complaints are revealing of Munson's tastes:

> The *Secessionists* are quite apart. Their object is science rather than art; or perhaps it is fairer to say that to them art is akin to mathematics. They are much intrigued by structure, in a sense quite other than that in which it is usually employed in poetry. They have a host of theories, and are most interesting when stating them, but the doubt arises whether a movement which concerns itself more with statements about poetry than with the making of poetry itself is ever going to produce works of art of a quality to justify the space taken up by prominciamentos.[97]

The nature of Munson's editing tastes, and his fondness for 'structure', and formal 'theories' are clearly discerned from the first two numbers of the journal: numbers three, four, five and six were edited, to varying degrees of (in Munson's eyes) 'mutilat[ion]' by his associate 'directors' while Munson was back in the U.S. [98] Entrusted with publishing, and

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[95] Loeb, 'The Mysticism of Money', *Broom*, 3.2 (September 1922), pp. 115-130 (pp. 115, 125).
[96] Munson, 'Mechanics', p. 7.
[97] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, pp. 168-69; Amy Lowell, 'Two Generations in American Poetry', *The New Republic,* 37.470 (5 December 1923), pp. 1-3 (p. 3).
[98] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 170.

categorically not editing, the journal, Josephson, Cowley, and Wheelwright nonetheless made significant editing decisions on Munson's behalf, including excising two lines from 'Faustus', and Josephson's 'Dadaist prank' on a group of poems by Donald B. Clark under the pseudonym 'Richard Ashton', the last of which was reduced to two lines.[99] The last numbers, under Munson's sole control, show a change in writers and a shift towards less experimental contributions, with an increasing emphasis on criticism; Josephson and Cowley had both left the journal, with Munson's 'allied Frenchmen' and other American Futurists also jumping ship.[100]

Munson's editing methods, with their origins in *The Pagan*'s 'training school', bear similarity to Crane's conceptions of his poetry. Kling's assimilative editing practices seem to have been particularly instructive for Munson and go some way to explaining Crane's increasing interest in *Secession*, given the formative effect that Kling's editing practices had on the development of Crane's verse. While Kling was interested in the experiments of the Dadaists in the late 1910s, he was sceptical about works that, in his mind, were arbitrarily experimental where form was divorced from content, clear from his parodies of calligrammes.[101] Munson's scepticism of Dada and his interest in the formal experiments of Surrealism suggests a similar view, and he dedicated a large proportion of *Secession* to literary criticism, with regular critical articles, including his own on Cummings, while the final number was devoted to Winters's 'Notes of the Mechanics of the Poetic Image'.[102] Winters's 'Notes' continued the journal's interest in experiments with metaphor, and, specifically, discussions in proto-Surrealist literary circles relating to the 'juxtaposition' of images.[103]

The differences between Munson and Josephson's approaches were immediately clear in the first number of the journal, though Josephson was not officially a 'director' until the second number. The inaugural issue of *Secession,* coming out in April 1922, coincided, and in some ways responded to, the arguments in print in that same month between André Breton and Tristan Tzara aired in *Littérature* and *Le Coeur à Barbe*. These two journals appeared during Paris Dada's split between Breton and Tzara's factions, a wrench that began the aesthetic shifts from Dada to Surrealism.[104] Munson was, it seems, more interested in Breton's project of attempting to formalise the nihilistic, 'anti-art' 'haw haws'

[99] Ashton ed. by Josephson, 'The Jilted Room', *Secession*, 1. 4 (January 1923), p. 4.
[100] See Josephson, *Surrealists*, pp. 231-232 for a full account.
[101] See Chapter I, p. 38.
[102] Munson, 'Syrinx', *Secession*, 1.6 (July 1923), pp. 2-11.
[103] Winters, 'The Testament of Stone: Notes on the Mechanics of the Poetic Image', *Secession*, 1.8 (1924), pp. 1-20.
[104] For a full account of the split see Alan Young, *Dada and After: Extremist Modernism and English Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 110-126.

(as Crane put it) of Dada into a set of aesthetic principles, while Josephson's allegiances lay more with the collage-like aesthetic of Tzara's journal (See Figure 3).[105] Josephson, who socialised at 'Dada soirees', made his support clear by contributing to *Le Coeur à Barbe*, a one-off publication intended to group Tzara's supporters against Bréton. Josephson, as his piece in *Broom*, 'Do You Fear the Dark' demonstrated, was interested in incorporating advertising and 'machine age' details (as Crane did with 'Tintex', a clothing dye brand, in 'The River') and Tzara's collage approach into his poetry (see also 'Apollinaire's 'Zone' on p. 179).[106] As Tzara put it in his 1920 'How to Make a Dadaist Poem: 'Take a newspaper | Take some scissors'.[107] Further, Josephson advertised *Secession* in the pages of Tzara's one-off publication, signalling his aims to represent Tzara's group and aesthetic within its pages.[108] Josephson contributed works that deployed new, mechanical, quotidian objects: for instance, 'The Oblate' which centres on a car's acceleration. Tellingly, Josephson's main contribution to the second number was his translation (as 'Will Bray') of Tzara's 'Mr AA the Antiphilosopher' which, in the same issue, Munson pointedly eschewed: 'I do not, at present, vouch for the majority of Tzara's activities.'[109]

While Munson and Josephson were in accord as far as the literary-political aims of *Secession* went, Josephson's Futuristic comments in 'Apollinaire' and his contributions to *Le Coeur à Barbe* immediately revealed the different aesthetic interests of the two editors and, already, aligned Josephson more with *Broom*. Crane found himself caught between these arguments. After Josephson and Cowley had both left *Secession*, Crane told Munson: 'We really have two groups to the former ONE of *Secession* and there is no use in trying to evade that fact,—as, obviously, you are not trying to do.'[110] While Josephson privileged the use of 'industrial' tropes and 'mechanical forces', Munson, like Crane, was more interested in the problems of their formal application. *Secession* was, he emphasised after Josephson had left

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[105] Crane to Munson, 23 January 1922, pp. 80-81 (p. 81). Tzara, Eluard and Ribemont-Dessaignes also declared in a short manifesto that 'Le « *Coeur à Barbe* » ne contiendra ni littérature, ni poésie'. 'Pour Faire Pousser le Coeur', *Le Coeur à Barbe*, 1.1 (April 1922), p. 1.

[106] Josephson, 'Dada', box 13, folder 332, Josephson Papers (Princeton); Josephson, 'Do You Fear the Dark?', *Broom*, 5.2 (September 1923), pp. 95-96; Adjusto-Lite Advert, 'The Lamp with a Clamp', *Popular Mechanics Advertising Section* 5.38 (November 1922), p. 163; Crane, 'The River', p. 113, l. 3.

[107] Tzara, 'How to Make a Dadaist Poem', *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology,* ed. by Robert Motherwell (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981), p. 92.

[108] As well as a short piece, 'I expire' ('I Expire', *Le Coeur à Barbe*, 1.1 (April 1922), p. 5.), *Le Coeur à Barbe* included a note from Josephson on *Secession's* founding, and a barb aimed at Sherwood Anderson. The new journal was also discussed at the end of *Le Coeur à Barbe*, which has Josephson listed as *Secession*'s 'representative' in Paris: 'Une nouvelle revue, Américaine va paraître à Vienne sous la direction de Gorham B. Munson. Son titre est «Secession» et le représentant à Paris, Matthew Josephson.' Unsigned, 'Dernière Heure', *Le Coeur à Barbe*, 1.1 (April 1922), back cover; Josephson 'Beware of Editors', *Le Coeur à Barbe*, 1.1 (April 1922), p. 6.

[109] Munson, 'A Bow to the Adventurous', *Secession*, 1.1 (April 1922), pp. 15-19 (p. 17).

[110] Crane to Munson, 28 October 1923, *Letters*, pp. 154-55 (p. 155).

for *Broom*, intended as a 'technical journal'.[111] While Josephson was still editing *Secession*, Munson did not directly attack his writing. But, later, he wrote that he found works like Josephson's 'Peep Peep Parrish', published in *Secession*, to be 'tripe' and such 'machine age' experiments were the equivalent of 'putting automobile goggles on Proteus', a 'verbose and inept transposition to an industrial city of Illinois'.[112] After Josephson left *Secession*, Munson was more direct, with a cutting review of Josephson's *Galimathias*. The volume included calligrammes, dedications to Aragon and Jacques Baron and a poem titled 'Toward Public Disgrace in a Streetcar' which, almost pruriently and euphorically, focused on the possible dangers of the car: 'O my fellow passengers—| of the innumerable provocative impacts'.[113] Munson's review instigated the arguments in print between *Broom* and *Secession*. He wrote:

> It is easy to surmise that this lack of any fundamental attitude toward life, this indulgence in trivial fancy, make him especially susceptible to influences which swallow him with little resistance. However, he has the cunning to pick influences new to American poetry, —*The Lay of Maldoro* [sic], Gertrude Stein, the Dadaists, —and so his work glitters with a novel reflected brilliance. At the same time one is depressed by an emptiness in back of his shrillest exclamations, the emptiness of one who cannot create his own artistic world and assimilate into it the stronger poets he reads.[114]

The difficulties of 'assimilating' these modern, mechanical details and subjects into writing was a topic of debate and source of experiment throughout *Secession*'s run, including Josephson's own 'The Oblate' and 'Peep Peep Parrish', and Frank's 'For the Declaration of War'. Crane's 'Faustus' is illuminated when seen as a response to these debates.[115] Like Munson, Crane was sceptical about these 'machine age' ideas until he began considering how they might be properly 'assimilated' into his verse. After reading Josephson's first contribution to *Secession* Crane wrote to Munson mocking the piece:

> But what has happened to Matty!?! And, —just why is Apollinaire so portentous a god? Will radios, flying machines, and cinemas have such a great effect on poetry in the end? […] It is metallic and pointillistic—not derogatory terms to my mind at all, but somehow thin, —a little too slender and 'smart'—after all.

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[111] Munson, 'Mechanics', p. 8.
[112] Munson, 'Interstice', p. 30.
[113] Josephson, 'The Oblate', *Secession*, 1.3 (August 1922), p. 14; 'Toward Public Disgrace in a Street-Car', *Galimathias* (Broom: New York, 1923), p. 29, ll. 4-5. Pruriently, because of the 'terrible death toll on New York streets' in the 1920s, see Peter D. Norton, *Fighting Traffic: The Dawn of the Motor Age in the American City* (Cambridge: MIT, 2008), p. 31
[114] Munson 'Tinkering with Words', p. 31.
[115] Frank, in this article, saw Dada as an attack on spiritual fellowship: 'an attempt to articulate the rejection of this first principle […] Unity is truth. This is a universe, not a multiverse,' Frank, 'For the Declaration of War', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-1924), pp. 5-14.

> O Matty must be amusing himself perfectly in Paris. And so he took you to be a real, honest-to-God disreputable and commercial editor! Serves you right, bad boy, following the primrose path of the magazines![116]

For Crane, these details need to do something other than just historicising or situating a piece of writing, otherwise, their inclusion could become arbitrary. In 'Apollinaire' Josephson emphasised the necessity of utilising the 'new poetic equipment of cinema, phonograph, Dictaphone, airplane, wireless', but, as regards 'form and technique', he stated that 'alliteration' and 'assonance with typographical arrangements' would be enough to 'give new visual and auditory sensations to the reader'. This was despite a note elsewhere that Tzara's 'poems are as naturally expressive as Herrick's are of the 17th century' and 'because the tramway gets into the very rhythm, form and texture of the poems', rather than just indicating "'I was in the tramway'".[117] This comment on Tzara, marginalised within the essay, echoes Crane's ideas about the proper 'assimilation' (also his term in the 'Aims', and used significantly by Bourne alongside his idea of 'spiritual welding' in 'Trans-National America' to the same effect[118]) of the kinds of details that Josephson was interested in.

For Munson and Crane, the process of collaging found objects and quotidian details (as in 'The Gift Beautiful') to create an impression of modernity, or the formal approach of 'alliteration', 'assonance' that Josephson took for his own work, was insufficient. Both were convinced, as Crane put it, that 'merely referring' to 'ceiling fans, car engines, traffic jams, high buildings and cinemas' created 'surface phenomena'.[119] Munson's inclusion of Aragon's 'Bottle Lost at Sea' in the first number flagged his interest in Bréton and his group's experiments with Surrealist metaphor. Crane, meanwhile, paid attention to both sides of the debate (after overcoming his total scepticism of 'Dada theories and other flamoodle' through his exposure to works in *Broom* and *Secession*) and responded to them creatively in his poetry and critically in his letters and in later essays. Regarding what he saw as Josephson's 'thin' approach, and demonstrating the formal point he was making by locating Helen in contemporaneous New York, Crane wrote in 1925 that:

> To embody in modern terms (words, symbols, metaphors) a contemporary approximation to an ancient culture or mythology that seem to have been obscured rather than illumed with the frequency of poetic allusions made to it during the last century. So I found 'Helen' sitting in a street car; the Dionysian revels of her court and

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[116] Crane to Munson, 19 April 1922, *Letters*, p. 84.
[117] Josephson, 'Apollinaire', p. 12.
[118] Bourne, 'Trans-National America', pp. 86, 97.
[119] Crane, 'Aims', p. 162; Crane to Munson, 19 April 1922, *Letters*, p. 84; Josephson, 'Do You Fear the Dark?', pp. 95-96.

her seduction were transferred to a Metropolitan roof garden with a jazz orchestra; and the katharsis of the fall of Troy I saw approximated in the recent world war.[120]

The objects or details in 'Faustus' are not just included to historicize. Rather, they create 'correspondences', through a 'grafting process' as Crane termed it, between the myth and the modern landscape with the aim—as also explored later in *The Bridge*—that cosmopolitan New York, with all of its 'seething' every day details, is an equally legitimate setting as Troy, with Dr Faustus's gaze on Helen unflinching even as she flicks through banal 'newspaper advertisements', 'counting the nights'.[121] This development can also be detected through a comparison of 'Faustus' with 'Porphyro in Akron', published in *The Double Dealer* in 1921. Taking Porphyro from Keats's 'The Eve of St Agnes' and transplanting him in the streets of Akron, Ohio, is deliberately comic. Crane disparages everyday life in 1920s Akron by swapping Madeline's lute and chambers for Fords, iceboxes and 'a shift of rubber workers'.[122] Notably, all of these objects—and more—derided in this letter to Munson appear in *The Bridge*. 'Faustus' contains 'flying machines' and exalts the 'metallic paradises' as Crane tested out the possibilities of this mode. It was through his exposure to work like Josephson's that he began to work out how he might incorporate these ideas into his own poetry, as realised in the paeans to 'elevators', 'cinemas', 'subways', 'traffic lights', 'dim slogans' of advertisements, 'radio[s]', 'EXpress' [sic] and 'Overalls ads' in *The Bridge*.[123]

Crane's emphasis on 'speed' in 'Faustus', as he notes in the 'Aims' and numerous letters to Munson, borrows from debates conducted in *Secession* that drew on a Futurist reverence for 'life puls[ing] at a given speed', 'the speed and vividness of the motion picture', and 'the enormous velocity… of the city', 'these two perceptions, coming together with an almost infinite speed', 'changing with silver speed on a long path', to take examples from Aragon, Josephson, Burke, Winters and Clark (as Richard Ashton).[124] For Crane, this idea of 'the paragon of SPEED' had to be conveyed formally, and not just literally described or it would not have 'weight'—as he complained of an early draft of 'Faustus'.[125] As he writes in the opening lines:

Numbers, rebuffed by asphalt, crowd
The margins of the day, accent the curbs,

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[120] Crane, 'Aims', p. 160.
[121] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 1, ll. 27-28.
[122] Keats, 'The Eve of St Agnes', *Complete Poems,* pp. 312-324; Crane 'Porphyro in Akron', p. 53.
[123] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, pp. 389-90; 'The River', *Second American Caravan* 2 (1929), pp. 113-17.
[124] Aragon, 'Bottle Lost at Sea', *Secession*, 1.1 (April 1922), pp. 4-7 (p. 6); Josephson, 'Apollinaire', p. 12; Burke, 'The Book Yull', *Secession*, 1.2 (July 1922), pp. 7-17 (p. 11); Winters, 'Testament of Stone', p. 6; Clark as "Ashton", 'All is not sound', *Secession*, 1.6 (July 1923), p. 20.
[125] Crane to Munson, 'Friday Night' 1922, *OML*, pp. 97-98 (p. 98).

Convoying diverse dawns on every corner
To druggist, barber and tobacconist […]
And yet, suppose some evening I forgot
The box and ticket, yet got by the way
Without recall—lost yet poised in traffic.[126]

In 'Faustus' Crane deliberately does not describe this idea of 'SPEED' noted in his letters. Rather, he creates the accelerations and decelerations of the streetcar moving through the New York streets in the first few lines formally, with the lists of objects hurtling past accompanied by swift iambic stresses, before gradually coming to a halt (as the 'traffic' piles up) with 'supp*o*se', '*so*me', and finally the long vowels of 'With*out* rec*all*—*lost* yet *poised*.' Crane pushes this by utilising his developing 'jazz rhythms', that also convey the hectic speed of ragtime, that, as he told Munson, were key to the opening stanza of Part II:

Brazen hypnotics glitter here;
Glee shifts from foot to foot,
Magnetic to their tremulo.
This crashing opera bouffe,
Blest excursion! this ricochet
From roof to roof—[127]

Crane shifts between metrical feet to get at the syncopated rhythms of jazz, where the arrangement in the first lines play with the relationship between the rhythms of the individual words, and the metrical feet of the whole line (perhaps best illustrated by the line 'fandaddle daddy don't ask for change' from 'The Tunnel').[128] Crane forces the stress on the 'not' of 'hypnotics' in the same way as jazz rhythm falls on the "off" beat and slips, almost as a glissade, from the longer syllables to 'glitter here'. Then in the second and third lines where we get a line of single stressed syllables which are interrupted by the quick trisyllables of 'magnetic' and 'tremulo', mirrored again with 'ricochet'. In contrast—in a similar way to the 'iceboxes' and 'Fords'—'Porphyro' shows the development of this mode as Crane merely 'describes' the 'ragtime dances before the door', but does not integrate these rhythms into the verse.[129] The fact that Crane did not include 'Porphyro' in *White Buildings* is testament to the fact that, in common with *The Pagan* poems, he considered the poem to be an early experiment that was brought to greater perfection in 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen'.

[126] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 1, ll. 9-21.
[127] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 2, ll. 1-6.
[128] Crane, 'The Tunnel', *Complete Poems*, pp. 97-101 (p. 98), l. 52.
[129] Crane, 'Porphyro in Akron', p. 53, l. 38.

iv. 'The logic of metaphor' and experiments in Surrealism

Work in *Secession* also bears its marks on the 'logic of metaphor'. It has been suggested in studies of Crane that the 'logic' adheres to French Symbolist metaphorical forms. In his later poems, Crane's use of metaphor seems adapted from the Symbolist principle that 'the idea will never appear without the sumptuous clothing of analogy', and reflects his interest (counter to the precepts of Imagism) in producing the emotional 'effect' as well as describing the 'thing'.[130] However, there is a clear shift from the experiments in French Symbolism, such as the 'mad orange flare' or 'grape hung night' of 'Echoes', and other *Pagan* poems, and the more radical later experiments where metaphors often work through the uneasy juxtaposition of images. Munson's editing selections were—at least in the first two numbers solely under his control—dominated by proto-Surrealist metaphorical experiments. These experiments adopted Pierre Reverdy's principle (reiterated by Bréton in his 1924 manifesto) that 'The image […] cannot be born from comparison but from a juxtaposition of two more or less remote realities', and as seen in experiments selected by Munson for the first four numbers of *Secession*.[131] This distinction between 'comparison' and the 'juxtaposition' of 'remote realities' is crucial to Crane's poetry, and its debt to the proto-Surrealist experiments he was encountering in the 'exile' journals.

While the final numbers contained critical discussions of these types of 'juxtaposed' metaphors, a different set of poets and writers began to appear in the journal, including Winters, Burke and Frank—and the latter was frequently attacked by Josephson at *Broom*.[132] Winters's 'Tewa Spring', the last poem to appear in *Secession*, appeared alongside the 'stenographic smiles', 'metallic paradise[s]' and 'magnetic' 'tremulo[s]' of 'Faustus', and addresses a rural landscape; Munson's juxtaposition highlights their similar metaphorical techniques, which contrast with their different subject matters. Like Crane, Winters uses juxtaposed images to craft an impression of the landscape, where 'shadow' is 'deep as stone'.[133] In another poem in the same number, 'The Moonlight', Winters uses similar

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[130] See Gordon A. Tapper, *The Machine That Sings: Modernism, Hart Crane, and the Culture of the Body* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 44; Thomas Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text: New Thresholds, New Anatomies* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), pp. 37, 93, 53; Irwin, *Crane's Poetry*, pp. 304, 382-83; 'the idea will never appear without the sumptuous clothing of analogy'. Moréas, 'The Symbolist Manifesto', *Manifesto*, p. 50.

[131] 'Elle ne peut naître d'une comparison mais du rapprochement de deux réalitiés plus ou moins éloignées.' Pierre Reverdy, 'L'image', *Nord-Sud*, 2.13 (March 1918), pp. 3-8 (p. 3).

[132] See Josephson on the 'unhappy gropings' of Frank's mysticism, 'Instant Note on Waldo Frank', *Broom*, 4.1 (December 1922), pp. 57-60.

[133] Winters, 'Tewa Spring', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter, 1924), p. 15, ll. 4-5.

uneasy juxtapositions as 'A 'train […] drone[s] out of thought', 'blind as a thread of water', and a father lies down, 'His eyes a web of sleep.'[134]

In the first number, edited solely by Munson, Aragon's 'Bottle Found at Sea'—which, in a letter, Crane told Munson was 'quite a beautiful thing'—demonstrated Munson's initial interest in these metaphorical forms, which were of crucial importance to the development of Crane's 'logic of metaphor'. Aragon, translated by Josephson, writes:

> The sponges of silence, the crystals of vacuum, where was I amongst them? I hurry on, bicyclist lost after the departure of the rear wheel, maintaining myself miraculously by one perpetual revolution. […] Sensuousness in this brothel-world! Best not to think of it. The geometrical progression of lust is not conceived as apart from all continuity. The four operations, very nice to talk about. Fly in sticky-paper, inkwell in clouds, who will give me back the fancy-cake with an Eiffel Tower relief, the City of Light, as it is called.[135]

Here, according to the then developing idea of Surrealist metaphor, Aragon is experimenting with the effects of this joining of 'remote possibilities' to create ideas. With '[s]ponges of silence', 'sponge' and 'silence' conjure completely different disharmonious associations (sea sponges, baths; versus, absence, melancholy, death) yet, a strange and intricate image emerges of sound having been drawn up into a sponge, and so, gradually fading away. The absurdity of the disparate images used means that attention is diverted away from the idea that is being conveyed and is directed towards the construction of the metaphor. Elsewhere in the number Cowley adopts a similar mode, but juxtaposes the central metaphors of his piece against each other. The passenger on the train in 'Day Coach' is at once 'a firefly over the waters' and 'spit' like 'a cherry seed from the puckered lips of the tunnel'; though showing a similar sense of movement, the agency of the firefly versus the helpless 'spitting' of the seed are at odds, again, highlighting the different construction of the metaphors. Similarly, Cowley pits a description of the train as 'a prison that exists| never between four walls, but only moves continually across a world of waters' against the train as a 'beast' 'leap[ing …] over stones and among | the trees' and as 'an envelope'.[136] In 'Poem' in the third number of *Secession* (August 1922) Cowley uses a metonymic, smaller scale like that employed by Aragon with the description of 'fishcakes blossoming', where the two ideas juxtaposed seem entirely unrelated.[137] Cowley's construction intends to at once convey the rising smell of a dish in 'an earthenware pot concealed by a cosy', while also attempting to emulate the floral patterns stitched onto the cloth. At a stretch the

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[134] Winters, 'The Moonlight', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1924), pp. 15, ll. 2, 5, 13.
[135] Louis Aragon, 'Bottle Found at Sea', trans. by Josephson, *Secession*, 1.1. (April 1922), pp. 4-7 (p. 7).
[136] Cowley, 'Day Coach', *Secession*, 1.1 (April 1922), pp. 1-5 (pp. 4-5), 'VII', ll. 2, 4; 'III', l. 7.
[137] Cowley, 'Poem', *Secession*, 1.3 (August 1922), pp. 13, l. 15.

metaphor conveys the round shape and perhaps the texture of the flowers, but the juxtaposition is distracting rather than illuminating.[138]

The 'logic' was formulated through Crane's reading of these kinds of experiments with juxtaposed metaphors. The differences between the Dadaist and Surrealist approaches to collage form are articulated usefully by Marjorie Perloff, and these distinctions are significant when considering the brand of American Futurism active in the 'exile' journals:

> In Dada collage, pictorial composition gives way to a new emphasis on the materials, assembled themselves. Kurt Schwitters, one of the greatest collagists, uses banal items like ticket stubs, buttons, advertising flyers, playing cards, bits of cloth and pieces of metal, and juxtaposes these so as to create subtle formal and material as well as semantic tensions. […] Surrealist collage is different again: here cut-ups from different sources are most frequently used to produce a fragmented narrative.[139]

These ideas of the 'fragmented narrative' and 'semantic tensions' produced through collaged images became crucial to Crane's poetry, and *Secession* provided Crane with a testing ground for these experiments, as in 'Voyages I', then titled 'Poster' (see pp. 81-96).

In the 'Aims', written in 1925, Crane links the development of his logic to his views on 'modernity', reiterating points he made to Munson in relation to Josephson's work in *Secession*:

> But to fool one's self that definitions are being reached merely by referring frequently to skyscrapers, radio antennae, steam whistles, or other surface phenomena of our time is merely to paint a photograph. I think that what is interesting and significant will emerge only under the conditions of our submission to, and examination and assimilation of the organic effects on us of these and other fundamental factors of our experience. It can certainly not be an organic expression otherwise. And the expression of such values may often be as well accomplished with the vocabulary and blank verse of the Elizabethans as with the calligraphic tricks and slang used so brilliantly at times by an impressionist like Cummings.[140]

Here Crane's point is that the subject (here, analogously, the 'photograph') must be wrought with the appropriate technique (i.e. not 'paint'): the technique has to fit the subject. Continuing, Crane outlines his process of 'expression', the 'logic' and its use for 'expressing the concepts of speed and space':

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[138] 'an earthenware pot concealed by a cosy and fishcakes blossoming around it', where the smell of the 'fishcakes' 'blossom' –spread—around the room: 'by which token I knew it was Friday'. Cowley, 'Poem', p. 13, l. 16.

[139] Perloff, 'Collage and Poetry', *Encyclopaedia of Aesthetics*, ed. by Michael Kelly, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Vol. 1, pp. 384-87 (pp. 384-5).

[140] Crane, 'Aims', p. 162.

> As to technical considerations: the motivation of the poem must be derived from the implicit emotional dynamics of the materials used, and the terms of expression employed are often selected less for their logical (literal) associational meanings. Via this and their metaphorical inter-relationships, the entire construction of the poem is raised on the organic principle of a 'logic of metaphor,' which antedates our so-called pure logic, and which is the genetic basis of all speech, hence consciousness and thought-extension.[141]

Crane's 'logic' borrows this idea of juxtaposed metaphors, but still builds the image around 'associational meanings' and the 'connotations of words' (see pp. 135-145).[142] Despite the critical commonplace that suggests that Crane's 'logic' was modelled after Symbolist experiments, Crane is no longer borrowing from Laforgue's 'Pierrots lunaire' or 'dandies of the moon', and the extended metaphors of 'The Hive' and 'Legende' are replaced by the small scale 'logic of metaphor'.[143] Using the 'logic', the image or idea is conveyed through direct, confident metonymy, rather than, as in 'Forgetfulness' comparisons: '*like* a song', '*like* a bird'. This shift, often using metonymy—for instance 'the mind' as 'baked and labelled dough'—was to depict the 'thing' in new terms: 'a single new word', and so depicting the object, but paratactically pincering the idea.

This technique is used particularly in Part II of 'Faustus' to blunt Crane's descriptions of Helen's court in the 'metallic paradises' of skyscrapers 'scour[ing] the stars'. Other surreal images such as the 'bent axle' of Faustus's gaze are, though complex and associative, not aiming to disrupt the description through incongruous pairings and push focus onto their constructedness; rather, Crane uses these juxtapositions, often, to produce its emotional charge. In this instance, when unpicked, Crane's image is curiously romantic, with Faustus almost orbiting Helen, with the axle the 'centre-pin or spindle upon which a wheel revolves' as his gaze remains 'riveted' upon her.[144]

The complex opening lines demonstrate Crane's comment on the 'obscuring' of the Helen myth with 'the frequency of poetic allusions made to it during the last century'—with 'stock quotations' emerging as a pun:

> The mind has shown itself at times
> Too much the baked and labelled dough

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[141] Crane, 'Aims', p. 163.
[142] Crane, 'Discussion', p. 36.
[143] See James L. Kugel, *The Techniques of Strangeness in Symbolist Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), also see, among others: Jackson R. Bryer, *Sixteen Modern American Authors* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), pp. 91-92; 'Hart Crane was an equally ambitious American Symbolist', William Pratt, *Singing the Chaos: Madness and Wisdom in Modern Poetry* (London: U Missouri Press, 1996), p. 190; Jules Laforgue, 'L'Imitation de Notre-Dame la Lune', *The Complete Poems*, pp. 189-162 ('II', p. 207, l. 13).
[144] 'axle', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/14059?rskey=cUZ1RP&result=2&isAdvanced=false> accessed 20. 11. 15.

Divided by accepted multitudes.
Across the stacked partitions of the day—
Across memoranda, baseball scores,
The stenographic smiles and stock quotations
Smutty wings flash out equivocations.[145]

The Helen myth, for Crane, has been partitioned into quotes, half-baked and doled out in different poetic iterations. Here the associative metaphor is used to illuminate complex elements of the text rather than shifting our focus to the oddness of the metaphor's construction. It was, as he demonstrates in 'Faustus' the 'logic', developed out of his exposure to these experiments in *Secession*, that allowed Crane to experiment with American Futurist ideas; he could use these quotidian, modern details, but without the disenchanting effect of referring to 'surface phenomena'. Crane employs this to great effect in *The Bridge,* beginning even with the 'cinema' in the 'Proem' where viewing the screen is described as: 'foretold to other eyes on the same screen', so the emphasis is placed on the communal experience ('other eyes') of the cinema, rather than its technological innovations.[146] The difference between Crane's and Josephson's treatments of these ideas is clear in the publication of 'The Springs of Guilty Song' in *Broom* alongside Josephson's similarly American Futuristic 'Pursuit' with its literal description:

O whizzing dynamo set spinning the vast wheelbelts of this world
the long rods in flight down the cool oiled cylinders.
O heart O Vesuvius
O destroying speed of descent and escape.
O sun omnipotent motor drive with infinite velocity the solar orbs
in accelerated dispersion. [Original formatting][147]

This throws Crane's associative description of the cityscape in 'Springs' into relief, where he combines his experiments with Surrealist metaphor with his interest in how 'machine age' tropes might be assimilated into his verse. Crane sketches out the New York skyline with its 'metallic paradises' of skyscrapers that create this 'cultivated' sky while the sounds of the 'catastrophes of drums' and 'hailed' 'groans' of the 'Dionysian revels almost seem to shake the 'gyrating' steel 'awnings' of the skyscraper beneath Helen's 'Metropolitan roof garden'.[148]

[145] Crane, 'Aims', p. 160; 'Faustus II', p. 1, ll. 1-7.
[146] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 389, ll. 9-12.
[147] Josephson, 'Pursuit', *Broom*, 4.2 (January 1923), pp. 164-167 (p. 167).
[148] Crane, 'Springs', ibid., pp. 131-2 (p. 132). Crane, 'Aims', p. 160.

v. Editing accidents, interventions and form

The histories of the different variants of 'Faustus' published in *Broom* and *Secession* are revealing of the poem's final form. 'Faustus' was printed in three versions as a result of a hitherto undocumented series of miscommunications with *Broom*, and due to editing interventions from Wheelwright at *Secession*. After sending 'Faustus' to *The Dial*, where it was rejected, and then consulting Munson on the structure of the poem, Crane decided to remove Part II from the text and submit 'Faustus' and 'The Springs of Guilty Song' as discrete poems to *Broom*. Crane wrote to Josephson on 6 November 1922, while Part III of 'Faustus' was still a 'sketch', outlining his original plans:

> This poem was originally intended, as you know, for section II of 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen.' However, I lately decided that I had already completed that latter named poem with the first part. As this stands perfectly on its own feet, I've called it 'The Springs of Guilty Song' and let it go at that.[149]

Crane was, judging from his next letter, persuaded by Josephson to stitch the poem back together, and publish the first two parts together, in anticipation of the whole poem, in three parts, appearing in the volume form:

> My original conception of this poem makes it difficult to acceed [sic] to your suggestion about publishing it and the 'Brazen hypnotics' as parts I and II under the one heading. But go ahead. They fit well enough together, so far as that goes—my original conception is, of course, privy to myself. When it comes out in book form 'Faustus and Helen' will probably have the third part which I miss, alone, and which, so far, has only been sketched.[150]

Unfortunately, Josephson did not receive Crane's response in time and *Broom* went to press with 'The Springs of Guilty Song' to 'make up the number', as Loeb put it in a curt response; the printing error 'was in no way our fault.'[151] Crane was 'disgusted' and 'remembering your unique editorial manners, etc., etc.,' (i.e. what Josephson had done to Clarke's poems) suspected, incorrectly and rather irrationally given his instructions, that Josephson had deliberately 'morcelled' (as Frank put it) the poem. Crane told Josephson he would no longer submit to *Broom* because 'THE WORST WILLHAPPEN [sic] BY ALL MEANS ANYHOW' [Crane's emphasis].[152]

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[149] Crane to Josephson, 12 December 1922, and 6 November 1922, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton). Interestingly, in the 12 December letter Crane picks up on the different nature of his formal experiments: 'you will not be likely to care for ['Faustus'].'

[150] Crane to Josephson, 12 December 1922, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton).

[151] Loeb to Crane, 20 March 1923, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton).

[152] Frank to Crane, 21 February 1923, box six, Crane Papers (New York); Crane's formatting, to Josephson, 2 March 1923, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers (Princeton).

Crane's tentative, and perhaps impulsive, idea to split the 'Faustus' poem into separate lyrics reveals his conception of the eventual structure of the poem. When Crane wrote to Josephson on the 6 of November, he had yet to complete Part III of the text. And, as he notes to Josephson, parts I and II were different in approach to Part II. While in Part I Crane lists 'baseball scores', 'stenographic smiles', 'stock quotations' and Helen is found in her 'street car', in Part II Crane so obfuscates the cityscape through his 'logic of metaphor', that it 'stands perfectly on its own two feet', and 'the other parts', which contain less abstract descriptions, were, Crane thought, 'entirely unlike it'.[153] Part III works as something of a compromise between these approaches with its skyscrapers as 'yielding cities of the air'.[154] These sections were intended as 'self contained', 'developed and closed' episodes, Crane told Munson.[155] Considering this publishing history, 'Faustus' is reassembled as a poem in three parts in its second printing in *Secession*: it appears more as a kind of triptych, and part of Crane's wider experimentation with longer forms of poetry.

In 'Faustus' Crane uses three parts that deal with formal problems in different ways that, though linked, are not in a strict narrative progression. In Part I, Crane gives us lists that are more familiar from Josephson's brand of American Futurism, collages of 'machine age' details, but here used to show the legitimacy of the contemporaneous New York setting, as is underlined by his epigraph from Ben Jonson that ends on, for 'Faustus', the crucial line, 'And Aben Ezra do interpret Rome'.[156] Crane's point is that here a modern 'interpretation' of New York is as legitimate as Jonson's of Rome as he transfers 'Helen's house' from Troy to her 'Metropolitan roof garden', or Dr Faustus's study in Marlowe or Goethe, to a 'streetcar'.[157] In Part II Crane obscures the cityscape further by utilising his deeply associative mode, and the New York skyline becomes his 'gardened skies'.[158] In Part III, which Crane began late in 1922, he draws the contrasting formal approaches of the three parts together by offering something of an aesthetic compromise. Crane uses a hybrid form that would become familiar in *The Bridge*, deploying techniques from both parts. Here, the descriptions are at times evasive and associative, with 'corymbulous formations of mechanics' for aeroplanes. Here Crane is describing a group of planes (airborne 'mechanics') in formation resembling a 'corymb' (a botanical description where the flower heads are clustered on one level, as in a ragwort plant), but 'corymbulous' also puns on

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[153] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 1, ll. 1-6; Crane to Munson, 4 June 1922, *OML,* p. 88.
[154] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 4, l. 21.
[155] Crane to Munson, 29 September 1922, *OML,* pp. 106-07 (p. 106).
[156] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. by Alvin B. Kernan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 153, ll. 25-40; Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 1.
[157] Crane, 'Aims', p. 160; Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust: Parts One and Two*, ed. and trans. by Robert David MacDonald (London: Oberon, 2012).
[158] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 3, l. 37.

'cumulus', or even 'cumulonimbus', types of clouds.[159]And so, the description develops into an impression of planes passing through clouds, only occasionally visible. Yet, Crane offers more clues in unpicking the verse than in Part II and links metaphors to aid their deciphering. '[M]otor dawns', and 'corymbulous mechanics', for instance, offer the necessary details for connected images, such as the aeroplanes as 'nimble blue plateaus', which Crane noted in the 'General Aims' was intended to imply 'the aeroplane and its speed against a contrast of stationary elevated earth':[160]

> Capped arbiter of beauty in this street
> That narrows darkly into motor dawn, —
> You, here beside me, delicate ambassador
> Of intricate slain numbers that arise
> In whispers, naked of steel;
> religious gunman!
> Who faithfully, yourself, will fall too soon,
> And in other ways than as the wind settles
> On the sixteen thrifty bridges of the city:
> Let us unbind our throats of fear and pity
> We even,
> Who drove speediest destruction
> In corymbulous formations of mechanics—
> Who hurried the hill breezes, spouting malice […]
>
> We know, eternal gunman, our flesh remembers
> The tensile boughs, the nimble blue plateaus,
> The mounted, yielding cities of the air![161]

Here, signalling Crane's 'approximation' of 'the katharsis of the fall of Troy' that he 'saw approximated in the recent world war', Crane picks up on his 'religious gunman' line again with the startling phrase buried in the fourth stanza: 'We did not ask for that, but have survived'.[162] This line articulates Crane's more general comments on American Futurism created through the juxtaposition of the different parts of the poem. 'Faustus and Helen' reflected debates conducted in *Secession* over the destructive potential of the 'violent materialism' of the Futurist impulse (manifested, too, in the nihilistic treatment of 'machine

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[159] 'corymb', '*OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/42150?redirectedFrom=corymbs> accessed 20. 11. 15.
[160] Crane, 'Aims', p. 164.
[161] Crane, 'Faustus II', pp. 3-4, ll. 5-21.
[162] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 4, l. 25.

age' tropes in Dadaist experiments[163]); as Frank questioned in 'For the Declaration of War', 'why should the machine make for chaos?'[164] Crane shifts from an unquestioning, naïve rendering of New York using, as Cowley put it, 'the picturesque American qualities of the Machine Age', to its eventual shift to a depiction of its more dangerous iteration in Part III: 'We even | Who drove speediest destruction'.[165]

While the editing accident at *Broom* is revealing of the form of 'Faustus', the interventions at *Secession* are part of a wider pattern in Crane's reception in contemporary journals that began developing in the 1920s, even before the publication of *White Buildings* in 1926. There are resonances between Wheelwright's editing decisions and, for instance, Moore's edit of 'The Wine Menagerie' as 'Again', and Monroe's demand that Crane's first publication in *Poetry,* 'At Melville's Tomb', be printed alongside an explanation of his 'confused' poem.[166]

Entrusted to 'supervise' the printing of numbers five and six of *Secession* in Florence during Munson's absence, Wheelwright 'also assumed editorial duties in the matters of revision, comment and acceptance.'[167] Wheelwright's 'garbled' (Crane's assessment) version of the poem removed Part II of 'Faustus' (perhaps not understanding that Munson had secured permission from Loeb to reprint the poem[168]) and cut lines 32 ('the white wafer cheek of love, or offers words') and 53 ('That beat, continuous, to hourless days—') because he found them 'inessential'.[169] Wheelwright also introduced a number of smaller errors, switching 'bluet' for 'blues' (so the line reads 'blues in your breasts'), adding commas after 'unjubilant' and 'briefly', a comma switched to a full stop at 'tides', and 'vine' is misspelt 'wine', so two lines read clumsily:

> Gathered the voltage of blown blood and wine [sic]
> Delve upward for the new and scattered wine,[170]

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[163] See Young for a discussion of the commonalities between Dada and Futurism in *Dada and After*, pp. 17-20, 82-84.
[164] Young, Dada *and After*, p. 82; Frank, 'For the Declaration of War', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-1924), pp. 5-14.
[165] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 4, l. 12.
[166] Monroe, 'Discussion', p. 35; see Chapter III pp. 122-151.
[167] Munson, 'Explanatory', *Secession*, 1. 7. (Winter 1924), back pages.
[168] See Munson, 'Notes', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1924), front matter; Crane to Munson, 28 October 1923, *Letters*, pp. 154-55 (p. 154).
[169] Crane to Munson, 28 October 1923, *Letters*, p. 154.
[170] Crane, 'Faustus I', p. 4, ll. 38-39; 'divers' is 'diverse' in both *Secession* variants, but was changed for the volume edition. Likewise, Crane drops the 'For' ('dimensional / For those untwisted') to the next line and moves 'of things' up to the previous line in the volume version, but not in either *Secession* versions (Munson was using the same typescript as Wheelwright). The colon at 'traffic:' in *Secession* is changed to a full stop in *White Buildings*. The four point ellipses seems to be *Secession* house style. 'An hour' in both variants becomes 'one hour' in *White Buildings*. The dash after 'cologne' in both variants is removed in *White Buildings*. Both variants read: 'The lavish heart shall always have, to leaven', with the comma removed in *White Buildings*. Likewise, an Oxford comma is present in the final line in both *Secession*

'Still worse', for Crane, was Wheelwright's 'ill-advised', and unauthorized, 'quotation from [Munson's] personal comment':

> Hart Crane's three poems for the Marriage of Faustus and Helen are to be read with reference to T.S. Elliot [sic].
>
> In Munson's opinion they are an affirmation that reveals a sub-stratum of the *Waste Land* to be sentimentaly, [sic] namely, that depression is a mark of aristocracy.[171]

Crane was concerned that the journal's readers and contributors (some of whom would go on to become significant critics of his: e.g., Frank, Winters and Tate) would assume this ridiculous note was authorised. Crane asked Munson to destroy all available copies of the journal to ensure that 'as many people in America are free from misconceptions about me as possible.'[172] Most irritating for Crane, who was fearful that 'Eliot's influence threatens to predominate the new English', was the reduction of his engagement with Eliot in 'Faustus' to a comment on *The Waste Land*—a recurrent framework in criticism of 'Faustus' and *The Bridge*.[173] Wheelwright erases the poem's engagement with American Futurist debates in favour of Eliot when, in fact, both forces of influence seem to have tempered each other. It was these debates that allowed Crane—as he told Munson—to attempt a depiction of the modern city while working 'through' Eliot to a 'different goal' [original emphases] from what Crane saw as the 'damned dead' world of *The Waste Land*.[174]

Wheelwright's decision to cut lines he found 'inessential' chime with contemporary critical appraisals of Crane by other editors and reviewers of both *White Buildings* and *The Bridge* that would develop in the late 1920s. In removing lines 32 and 53, Wheelwright was (somewhat inexplicably) suggesting their presence in the poem was gratuitous, prefiguring Moore's famous edit of 'The Wine Menagerie' in her attempts to impose 'restraint' and 'discipline' onto the poem.[175]

vi. Continuing the argument: *1924* and coterie poetry

Edwin Seaver's *1924* was founded and edited from 'the artistic and literary' community of the 'Woodstock colony' in upstate New York, and continued the arguments conducted

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versions but not *White Buildings*. See Crane, 'Faustus and Helen', *White Buildings* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926), pp. 37-44.

[171] J. B. Wheelwright, 'Note to "For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen"', *Secession*, 1.6 (September 1923), p. 4. Original formatting.

[172] No doubt partly because though slight, Crane had yet to publicly voice his own ideas about his poetry or publish a volume. Though short, this was one of the first pieces of criticism of Crane to appear in print. Date of publication worked out from Crane's letters. The issue date is given as 'Winter 1924'.

[173] Crane to Munson, 13 October 1920, *Letters*, pp. 43-44 (p. 44).

[174] Crane to Munson, 5 January 1923, *OML*, pp. 115-118 (p. 117); To Munson, 20 November 1922, *OML*, p. 108.

[175] See Chapter III, pp. 114-135.

between *Broom* and *Secession*. This was despite Seaver's assurances to Crane—who became anxious about his affiliations with both journals—that 'the magazine favors no group, and no individual'.[176] Seaver intended for *1924* to air the debates between the ex-editors of *Broom* and *Secession* (*1924*, first published in July, very much started in their wake) but would remain neutral, and also take aim at Ernest Boyd's 'Aesthete: 1924 Model' which attacked the 'exile' group from the pages of *The American Mercury*.[177] *1924* published a similar pool of contributors to the 'exile' journals and featured Americans writers working with European avant-garde influences alongside pieces that emphasised Seaver's interest in regional, 'localist', literature. *1924* would mix, for instance, Seaver's 'The Paintings of Judson Smith' which declares 'American! | Is the flavour of the pear [….] of these apples', stories based near 'the village of Woodstock', and Starke Childe's 'A Tale of a Wooden Leg' set 'Not very far from the village of Woodstock,'[178] and adverts for local soda fountain services, insurers, colonial weavers and sandwich shops, alongside Frank and Cowley's arguments about Dada, Crane's 'Voyages', and a letter from Pound from Paris.[179] The zeitgeist, Munson suggests, of this 'foothill' in the Catskills was characterised by *1924* and Frank Schoonmaker's *Hue & Cry*, which expressed an interest in 'the new in arts and letters' and 'a revival of the spirit of Walt Whitman'.[180] Crane's poetry in this period was, then, at the intersection of Seaver's interests in *1924*, with his two coterie poems that referred to the local artistic community, and, in 'Voyages IV', his experiments with the proto-Surrealist informed 'logic'.

The majority of the *1924* contributors had been involved with *Secession* and *Broom*, with appearances from Munson, Cowley, William Slater Brown, Burke, Williams, Cummings, Winters, Isidor Schneider, Stevens, Frank, Stark Childe, Hansell Baugh, Charles Bateman and Pound. At the time of *1924*'s founding, *Secession* and *Broom* were both on the point of insolvency having, for a short period, provided experimental, responsive organs for contributors in the US and Europe.[181] *1924*'s direct engagement with arguments over American Futurism began with the publication of Waldo Frank's 'Seriousness and Dada' in the autumn number and, in the following issue via open letters, a response from Cowley, and rebuttal from Frank in 'Communications on Seriousness and Dada'. Like *Secession*, and

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[176] Seaver to Crane, n.d. [late autumn 1924?], box 7, Crane Papers (New York).
[177] Boyd, 'Aesthete: Model 1924', *The American Mercury*, 1.1 (January 1924), pp. 51-56.
[178] Stark Childe, 'Tale of a Wooden Leg', *1924*, 1.1 (July 1924), pp. 25-29.
[179] Seaver, 'For the Paintings of Judson Smith', *1924*, 1.4 (December 1924), p. 127; Stark Childe, 'Tale of a Wooden Leg', *1924*, 1.1 (July 1924), pp. 25-29; Frank, 'Seriousness and Dada', *1924*, 1.3 (Autumn 1924), pp. 70-73; Cowley and Frank, 'Communications on Seriousness and Dada', *1924*, 1.4 (December 1924), pp. 140-142; Pound, 'A communication from Ezra Pound', *1924*, 1.3 (September 1924), pp. 97-98; Crane, 'Voyages' ['IV'], p. 119.
[180] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 291; Hoffman, Allen, Ulrich, *Little Magazine,* pp. 269-70.
[181] André Breton, 'Lâchez Tout', *Littérature,* 2.2 (April 1922), pp. 8-10; Breton, *Le Manifeste du Surréalisme: Poisson Soluble* (Paris: Aux Editions Du Sagittaire, 1924).

S4N, *1924* had a combative approach to literary criticism. After Seaver asked Munson for a piece that would 'describe the younger generation' for the first issue, Munson responded, surprisingly, by way of attack on *The Waste Land* in 'The Esotericism of T. S. Eliot', and later *1924* published Crane's spirited attack on Lowell in its December number, after she had attacked *Secession* in *The New Republic.*[182] This combative attitude came to a head late in the year. During an editorial meeting at the *1924* offices in late November it was suggested that in the next issue of the magazine 'Frank and Munson's new-Romantic aesthetics' should be critiqued. This never materialised: the magazine ceased publishing in December, and failed to emerge as the planned *1925*, but Cowley and Frank's letters were published in the final number of the magazine.[183] After this meeting, Crane withdrew 'several poems' he had given to Seaver 'out of loyalty to his two friends,' and tried to broker a peace between Cowley, Josephson and Munson through letters.[184]

Aesthete, 1925, a one off, 35¢ publication, appeared in February, with the majority of the 600 copy run sent to *Broom* subscribers.[185] The journal was assembled by Burke, Crane, Cowley, Josephson, Tate, Wheelwright, William Slater Brown and, by mail, Williams, with the group writing under the pseudonym 'Walter S. Hankel'—also one of Cowley's subjects in his set of coterie poems in Josephson's number of *The Little Review.*[186] Like *1924, Aesthete, 1925* was primarily constructed in reaction to Ernest Boyd's 'Aesthete: 1924 Model', which Cowley later wrote was a composite attack on 'the early careers of Gilbert Seldes, Kenneth Burke, Edmund Wilson, and Matthew Josephson, with touches…from John Dos Passos, E. E. Cummings, myself, Gorham Munson, and Waldo Frank'.[187] But, much to Munson's annoyance, *Aesthete, 1925* took a similar position on Dadaist experiments as *Broom*, attacking Frank's contribution to *1924*. A 'picture' of "Hankel" was also published, wrote Josephson, 'with a bald head and curling mustachios (so that he looked like the corpulent ghost of Munson).'[188] The journal also took aim at Munson's *1924* article on Eliot and admonished Boyd, Mencken, Lowell, Pound, Frank and Aiken, among others.[189] A primary aim of *Aesthete, 1925* was, through an attack on Munson, Frank

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[182] Munson, 'The Esotericism of T. S. Eliot', *1924,* 1 (July 1924), pp. 3-10; Crane as "Religious Gunman", 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock', pp. 136-39.
[183] Mariani, *Broken Tower,* p. 170; Munson, *Awakening Twenties,* p. 292; Cowley and Frank, 'Communications on Seriousness and Dada', pp. 140-42; Seaver, *So Far So Good* pp. 101-8.
[184] Mariani, *Broken Tower*, p. 170; Selzer, *Kenneth Burke in Greenwich Village: Conversing with the Moderns, 1915-1931*(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 47-52; Crane to Munson, *Letters*, p. 154.
[185] Selzer, *Kenneth Burke*, p. 51.
[186] Cowley, 'Walter S. Hankel', in 'Anthology', p. 36; Selzer, *Kenneth Burke*, pp. 47-52; *Aesthete*, p. 20; Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 291.
[187] Selzer, *Kenneth Burke*, pp. 47-52.
[188] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 291.
[189] Mocking Munson's desire for a 'technical' literary critical framework, a piece in *Aesthete* uses percentage approval ratings, '*Aesthete, 1925* admonishes with "6.43%" approval for the statement: "I am

and Seaver, to make the distinctions between the *Broom* and *Secession* group clear after their interests were elided in Boyd's article.[190]

Some critics have speculated that Crane wrote 'Chanson' for *Aesthete, 1925*. Weber points out that a copy of *Aesthete, 1925* had 'Crane' scrawled across the top of the poem, and Josephson suggests that Crane authored the text in *Life Among the Surrealists*.[191] Susan Jenkins Brown, however, claims that the poem was written by her husband, William Slater Brown. The truth may be somewhere in between with a group of editors writing the poem.[192] Crane had tried to 'keep on good terms with both the Munson-Frank faction and that of *Broom*', but following these events with *1924* and *Aesthete, 1925*, Crane was 'excommunicat[ed]' from Munson's 'group'; Munson could not understand Crane's resistance to aligning himself entirely with 'one group, faction "opportunity" or another'.[193] This might also explain why he is unnamed in *Aesthete*, unlike the other editors and contributors. This disagreement—channelled as it was by *1924* and then *Aesthete, 1925*—terminated one of Crane's most significant working relationships.

The importance of these close knit literary networks to *1924* was demonstrated by Seaver's use of Crane's 'Sunday Morning Apples' and 'Interludium' to open the first number of his journal. Both poems were dedicated to artists associated with *1924*. 'Sunday Morning Apples' is addressed to William Sommer, who provided a frontispiece for the January 1923 number of *Secession*, which had also featured 'Poster' ('Voyages I'). 'Interludium' took *La Montagne* as its subject, a sculpture by Woodstock resident, Gaston Lachaise. Lachaise was a *1924* contributor and step-father of 'Broomide', *Pagan* contributor, and Crane's friend, Edward Nagle.[194] Both poems make comment on, as Munson wrote, the 'exchanges of writers and artists' that 'enlivened […] Woodstock in the twenties,' and situate Crane within a responsive coterie.[195] The ekphrastic nature of both poems no doubt interested Seaver, and reflected these 'exchanges' between its visual and literary

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compelled to reject (*The Waste Land*) as a harmoniously functioning structural unit.'" Unsigned, 'Impure Pure Criticism', *Aesthete,* p. 4

[190] Also the "author" of *Wither Wither, or after Sex, What? A Symposium to End Symposiums* (New York: Macaulay and Company, 1930). "Hankel" also reappeared in *Contempo* during the second phase of this argument after Munson published 'The Fledgling Years' in the *Sewannee Review*.

[191] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 242; Susan Jenkins Brown, *Robber Rocks* (Berkeley, University of California: 1969), pp. 42-3; Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 264

[192] Because I cannot be sure Crane wrote this poem, I have not listed this as a publication in Table 6. R. W. Butterfield, not realising the poem was a joke, comments on "Crane's" 'damp squib' of a poem, 'Chanson', in *The Broken Arc*, p. 95. I would also hazard a guess that Crane was involved with the 'Impure Pure Criticism' feature, particularly judging by the tone of its last feature, 'Meditations': 'I am often accused of being amateurish or immature…' *Aesthete*, p. 8.

[193] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 264; Crane to Munson, 8 December 1924, box 19, Crane Papers (New York)

[194] Lachaise's stepson, Edward Nagle, was a *Broom* contributor and friend of Crane's, and appeared in *The Pagan*: Nagle, 'A Summer Day', *The Pagan,* 2.11 (March 1918), p. 29.

[195] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 290.

contributors. The integrated layout of *1924* contained prints from local artists, such as Henry Mattson and William Gropper, alongside poetry and prose.

Crane had spent considerable time sending out '27 Sommer things off to Anderson' at *The Little Review*, *The Dial,* and Munson had attempted to secure Sommer gallery space in New York.[196] After Sommer took a job at the Otis Lithography Company of Cleveland, he painted only on Sundays—hence his series 'Sunday Morning Paintings'.[197] This may have resonated with Crane, who had scribbled down snatches of the 'Voyages' while working for his father's confectionery business and, later, advertising firms.[198] Crane's poem (which, in turn, receives a tacit response in Frank O'Hara's 'Why I am Not a Painter'), focuses on 'apples' as a nod to the painter's fondness for them as a subject, while it also recalls the 'valley… (called Brandywine)'.[199] Sommer lived in Brandywine Creek (Crane was probably also thinking of Calvados) where the two enjoyed bootlegged cider and 'aerial wine'.[200] Their intimacy is recreated in the final line, 'The apples, Bill, the apples!', with a sense that Crane is almost directing Sommer: 'Put them again beside a pitcher with a knife, | And poise them full and ready for explosion', where he is describing Sommer's untitled still life of a blue pitcher and apples (see Figure 4).[201] Crane draws on conversations that he had with Williams and Munson on both this painting, and other works by Sommer—Williams, as Crane put it, had bought one of these paintings after it 'got under his underdrawers.'[202] In 'Sunday Morning Apples' Crane is recalling, it seems, his conversations with Munson and Williams over the 'excitatory phallicism' of Sommer's work; in the second stanza Crane writes:

> ripe nude with head
> reared
> Into a realm of swords, her purple shadow [203]

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[196] Mariani, *Broken Tower*, p. 79.
[197] Unterecker, *Voyager*, 196.
[198] Crane to Munson, Monday Evening, Jan. 1923, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[199] Frank O'Hara, 'Why I am Not a Painter', *Selected Poems*, ed. by Mark Ford (Knopf: New York, 2008), p. 113.
[200] Unterecker, *Voyage,* p. 202.
[201] Crane, 'Sunday Morning Apples', p. 1, ll. 17-20, 5-7; William Sommer, *Untitled* [Still life with blue pitcher and apples], no date (c. 1923), oil on canvas, American Drawings and Paintings Collection, Princeton University Library.
[202] Crane to Munson, 12 October *Letters*, p. 102; see: Williams, *Selected Letters*, ed. by John C. Thirwell, (New York: New Directions, 1984), p. 186. Both ekphrastic poems demonstrated the dialogue between the visual and written arts at this journal. As Munson put it: 'this mood of the American risorgimento was most fully experienced at Woodstock […] One of two art colonies in the East—the other being Provincetown.' Crane had sold a painting of Sommer's to William Carlos Williams. See Munson, *Awakening Twenties,* p. 292, where he comments on Williams selecting a painting and the ensuing correspondence between Sommer, Munson, Crane and Williams.
[203] Crane, 'Sunday Morning Apples', p. 1, ll. 4-6.

'Interludium', printed next in the number, functions similarly, but picks out a specific work by Lachaise: *La Montagne* (Figure 5), which was also reproduced in *The Dial*. *La Montagne* was a series of sculpture portraits of Lachaise's eventual wife, Isabel Dutaud Nagle, also an acquaintance of Crane's, whom he had enjoyed 'danc[ing] around' until exhausted at a raucous Thanksgiving celebration in November 1923.[204] 'Interludium' attempts to convey Lachaise's style in poetic form:

> Thy time is thee to wend
> with languor such as gains
> immensity in gathered grace

Crane is attempting to capture the at once languid and imposing reclined figure in Lachaise's sculpture, in contrast to the more rustic, colloquial tone of 'Apples' and Crane's description of Sommer's process, and the eventual work.

vii. The 'logic of metaphor' and the 'Voyages' in *Secession*, *1924* and *The Little Review*

The 'Voyages' sequence was first published in the same receptive contexts as 'Faustus and Helen', 'Interludium' and 'Sunday Morning Apples'. The first publication from the 'Voyages' was 'I' as 'Poster' in *Secession* in January 1923. This was followed by 'IV' in *1924* in the December number and, finally, the remaining four poems ('II', 'III', 'V', 'VI') appeared in *The Little Review*'s 'America vs Europe' issue.[205] This number was edited by Josephson under Jane Heap's supervision and its 'America' section was primarily made up of a 'selection' of work from the 'exile' group.[206] Publishing the remaining 'Voyages' in *The Little Review* was crucial, highlighting the correspondences between Crane's 'logic of metaphor' with experiments in what was now formally 'Surrealism' after Breton's 1924 *Manifeste du Surréalisme: Poisson Soluble*.

The 'Voyages' were responses to specific developments in avant-garde poetry, but were also the subject of creative dialogue within Crane's literary networks, most famously, as Marc Simon has illustrated, with Munson's friend and Woodstock resident, Samuel Greenberg; of this group at least Munson would have been familiar with the Greenberg poems.[207] First: Edwin Seaver's 'A Poem' in *1924* engages with 'Voyages V' and 'I'.[208]

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[204] William Innes Homer, *Avant-Garde Painting and Sculpture in America: Exhibition Catalogue* (Delaware: University of Delaware, 1975), p. 88. Crane to his Grandmother, Elizabeth Hart, 5 December 1923, *Letters*, p. 159.
[205] See footnote 9 (Chapter II) for publication details.
[206] The New York number of *transition*, 1.16-17, Spring Summer, June 1929, was also compiled by Josephson and *Aesthete* contributors. See *Surrealists*, p. 291.
[207] Simon, *Lost Manuscripts*, pp. 41-44.
[208] Seaver, 'A Poem', p. 39

Second: Malcolm Cowley parodies key elements of the 'Voyages' in 'Hart Crane', published in the same 'America vs Europe' number of *The Little Review*, and he alludes to the 'Voyages' in 'Day Coach', published in *Secession*.[209] Seaver's 'A Poem' and Cowley's texts illustrate the extent to which those in Crane's networks were familiar with these poems, even prior to their publication. As with 'Faustus', the majority of the 'Voyages' were circulated by Crane prior to their submission to journals. The poems were sent out in correspondence to the *Secession*, *Broom* and *1924* group as he worked through drafts, with versions sent to Munson, Toomer, and Frank in late 1923 and 1924.[210]

When Crane began 'Poster' in September 1921 he was not intending to develop this single lyric into a six part poem.[211] Two years later, after beginning 'Belle Isle' ('VI'), Crane began transforming these two poems into a sequence. Characteristically, the rest of the sequence was not written consecutively and Crane did not formulate an order for the poems until 1925. After 'I', Crane composed 'VI' (then titled 'Belle Isle') while working at Corday and Gross in Cleveland. He submitted the poem to *Secession* in January 1923 with the comment: 'Don't mind rejecting it. God knows I'm not serious about it. I continued it while I should have been writing an ad this afternoon.'[212] He continued, noting cagily just underneath the manuscript, '[p]erhaps this is an impossible "story" to tell—yet I think the last three stanzas achieve a kind of revelation.'[213] While Crane was anxious about the roughness of the draft (correctly, for Munson returned the poem), more significantly he is hinting here at the 'impossib[ility]' of documenting his relationships in his poetry—and, this draft is more explicit than the eventual 'Belle Isle'.[214] This issue became crucial to the later developments of the sequence, where he used his associative mode to present coded descriptions of his homosexual love affairs (see pp. 90-93).

Seaver's 'A Poem' in the August number of *1924*, contains a number of intertextual correspondences with the 'Voyages', particularly 'V'. Given Crane's circulation of these

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[209] Cowley, 'Hart Crane', p. 34; 'Day Coach', pp. 1-5

[210] Lohf, *Manuscripts*, p. 15; Crane to Jean Toomer, 23 November 1923 [includes 'This way when November takes the leaf'], box 8, Crane Papers (New York); Crane to Grace Hart Crane, 12 October 1923, *OML*, pp. 150-51; Crane to Alyse Gregory, 12 March 1924, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven); Crane to Frank 21 April 1924, *OML*, p. 188; Gregory to Crane, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven); Lohf, *Manuscripts*, p. 15.

[211] Unterecker, *Voyager,* pp. 262, 216; 'The bottom of the sea is cruel' ('I') included in Crane to Munson, 1 October 1921, box 22, Crane/Munson Correspondence (Columbus).

[212] Crane, 'Belle Isle', enclosed in a letter to Munson, n.d. [c. January 1923], box 22, Crane/Munson Correspondence (Columbus).

[213] Ibid.

[214] With this stanza describing penetration, 'Down by the river at its base |And remembering that stream of pain | I press my eyes against the prow, | Waiting… And you, who with me also| Traced that flood, — where are you now?', then orgasm two stanzas later: 'that sharp joy brighter than the deck | That instant white death of all pain'. Ibid., ll. 3-7, 12-13.

manuscripts, it is likely that Seaver had seen 'V', though the earliest drafts have been lost.[215] As Marc Simon demonstrates in his study of the Greenberg manuscripts, dialogues with other poets were crucial to the composition of the 'Voyages'.[216] Although Crane deemed Seaver's poetry 'tommy rot', Seaver declared his admiration for 'the Collosus [sic] of Cleveland' in 'A Prelude' in the first number of *1924*.[217] Then, in the second number, he included 'A Poem'.[218] Seaver's poem makes it possible to date 'V' to, at the latest, August 1924, and reads:

> Thy belly
> breathes
>
> a tremendous
> hiatus of sea.
>
> sprang I then song
> of night, stars
> vaulting above.
>
> what alchemy
> transmutes
> the quick fruits ripe
> sundrenched knolls?
>
> the hair
> a purple of rye a dusk
> falls unperturbed odor
> of clover moist upon lips.
>
> from the throat to the navel
> quivers but an interval's music
> how has my hand amazed
> voyaged new argosies!
>
> into Thy-portal descend

[215] Lohf, *Manuscripts*, p. 15.
[216] Simon, *Lost Manuscripts*, pp. 59-89.
[217] To Susan Jenkins and William Slater Brown, 21 Oct 1925, *OML,* p. 208; Seaver, 'A Prelude', *1924*, 1.1. (July 1924), p. 12.
[218] Seaver, 'A Poem', *1924,* 1.2 (August 1924), p. 39

upon me

Beloved,
let the implacable
thighs, arms blossoming

Thy hands[219]

While the non-descriptive title seems to emphasise that this poem is intended as a reflection on another work, rather than an independent piece, Seaver's first stanza—particularly with the image of blushing 'purple' moving 'from the throat to the navel', and 'belly breathes […] hiatus'—recalls these lines from 'Faustus':

Reflective conversion of all things
At your deep blush, when ecstasies thread
The limbs and belly, when rainbows spread
Impinging on the throat and sides…
Inevitable, the body of the world
Weeps in inventive dust for the hiatus
That waits above it, bluet in your breasts.[220]

Crane's line 'Her undinal vast belly moonward bends' (from 'Voyages II') is recalled in Seaver's first stanza.[221] Most directly, 'voyaged new argosies' recalls 'argosy of your bright hair' in 'Voyages V'.[222] In his final line Seaver seems to be directly addressing Crane with: 'Thy hands', central images in the 'Voyages' (see p. 87).

Cowley's response to the 'Voyages' in 'Hart Crane' was published alongside the original poems in the Spring-Summer 1926 number of *The Little Review*. However, Crane did not initially imagine that the set of poems would appear in Anderson and Heap's journal. After the publication of 'I' and 'IV', Crane had originally planned for the remaining four 'Voyages' to be published in Philadelphia's *Guardian* in October 1925, alongside a 'short essay' from Allen Tate on the poems.[223] *The Guardian* had been publishing writers associated with *The Fugitive* and the *Secession*, *Broom* and *1924* group, including one of Munson's numerous attacks on Josephson in a piece 'Skyscraper Primitives'.[224] However, *The Guardian*'s designated issue appeared without the 'Voyages' and, for Crane, 'unforgivably' advertised that the 'four remarkable poems by Allen Tate will appear in the

[219] Seaver, 'A Poem', p. 39, ll. 1-25.
[220] Crane, 'Faustus II', pp. 2, 1-4, ll. 34-40.
[221] Crane, 'Voyages II' [as 'I' in *TLR*], *The Little Review*, p. 13, l. 4.
[222] Crane, 'Voyages V' [as 'III' in *TLR*], *The Little Review*, p. 14, l. 19.
[223] Crane to Frank, 19 August 1925, *OML*, pp. 204-206.
[224] Munson, 'Skyscraper Primitives', *The Guardian*, 1.5 (March 1925), pp. 164-78.

next issue!'[225] Crane was furious and looked for an alternative publisher. First on the list was *The New Masses* which, at this point, was still in its discussion stages. *The New Masses* returned the poems, and Crane blamed the rejection on his association with Tate who had criticised writers associated with *The Masses* group: 'Allen gave Untermeyer and Kreymborg such digs' that he had doubted that its editor, James Rorty, would 'fanc[y]' the *Voyages* for the new magazine.[226]

The 'America vs Europe' concept for Josephson's number of *The Little Review* came from Heap, who had been critical of *Secession*'s American Futurist responses to European avant-gardes. Heap blamed *Secession*'s attacks on journals with broader appeal, among which she grouped *The Little Review*, on the 'numerous rejection slips' received by their contributors.[227] Heap, Josephson notes in his memoir, thought 'it would be fun to publish your group and the French group against each other.'[228] That *The Little Review* was formative to Crane's career seems to be something of a critical misconception: *The Little Review* sent back five of Crane's poems—around half of his total submissions to the journal (see Appendix 1).[229] Anderson noted that she was not a 'great fan' of Crane's poetry in the early years of his career, while Pound (foreign editor from April 1917-Winter, 1922) positively disliked it, writing to Anderson 'do not publish him' (see pp. 12-13 and p. 42).[230] Nonetheless, the 'Contributors' Notes' in the Spring-Summer 1926 number appear as a retrospective attempt to claim Crane as a *Little Review* discovery: 'well known' to *The Little Review*'s 2,000 readership, he is one of *our* finest poets' [my emphasis].[231] The 'Voyages' mark a change in attitude towards Crane at *The Little Review* after Pound's departure: this was underlined by a 1929 letter from Anderson to Crane requesting a 'démodé […] adolescent' photograph to help illustrate *My Thirty Years War*; she added, perhaps a little disingenuously: 'I've come to like your poetry very much'.[232]

After *The Little Review* regrouped after its trial over the serialisation of *Ulysses*, the journal attempted to reposition itself as a transatlantic magazine, boasting (somewhat dubiously) that it was 'the first magazine to reassure Europe as to America, and the first to give America the tang of Europe', having produced dedicated numbers to Francis Picabia

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[225] Crane to Slater Brown, 21 October 1925, *OML*, pp. 206-207 (p. 207).
[226] Crane to Munson, 5 April 1926, *OML*, p. 239.
[227] Heap, 'Exposé', p. 46. This prompted Crane's response: 'To J. H.', *The Little Review*, 9.3 (Autumn 1922), p. 39.
[228] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 291.
[229] Alan Golding also lists Crane as a *Little Review* 'discovery'. See: '*The Dial*, *The Little Review* and the Dialogics of Modernism', *Little Magazines and Modernism*, 15.1 (2005), pp. 42-55 (p. 50).
[230] Pound to Anderson, 26 January 1917, *Pound/The Little Review*: *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson*, ed. by Thomas L. Scott and Melvin J. Friedman (New Directions: New York, 1989), p. 6.
[231] Unsigned, 'Contributors' Notes', *The Little Review*, 7.1 (Spring-Summer 1926), p. 2; Circulation figures from *Modernist Magazines*, II, p. 17.
[232] Anderson to Crane, n.d., c. Autumn 1917, box 1, Crane Papers (New York); Anderson, *My Thirty Year's War* (New York: Greenwood, 1930).

and Constantin Brânuşci.[233] However, Heap's arrangement of the number as Josephson's 'group' 'against' the 'French group' showed a fundamental misunderstanding of the aesthetic debates conducted between *Broom* and *Secession.* As the splits between the American factions show, these debates were not based on national as much as aesthetic principles, something ignored by Heap's design for the number, but integral to the founding principles of the 'exile' journals.[234] There was, as the debates between Josephson, Munson, Cowley, Frank and Crane demonstrated, as much 'contrast' within Josephson's 'group' as there may have been between the 'young Americans' and the 'mostly French—Surrealiste[s]'.[235] Josephson is careful to point out the distinctions between the 'Surrealists of Paris' and non-affiliated poets in the 'French section' of the number.[236] Reiterating Tzara's nickname for Breton in *Le Coeur à Barbe*, 'Chameleon', and commenting on the 'new artistic organism' of Surrealism as outlined in Breton's *Le Manifeste du Surréalisme* from 1924, Josephson wrote:

> Super-realists. Chameleons, rather! Even as one begins to scold you the colours change and a new 'movement' is under way. […]
>
> It was with much sinking of the heart that I watched my friends…After the exquisite uproar of Dada, which was incontestably a miraculous sideshow for the world, this Superrealism is the faint, ugly whine of a decrepit engine.[237]

Josephson had contributed to Tzara's *Le Coeur à Barbe* in April 1922, and here in 1926 he is still siding with 'the esthetic nihilists' (the Paris Dadaists)—though he noted that by 1926, having spent two years 'in the front-line trenches of Wall Street', he was less vehement in his allegiances than during the heights of the *Broom* and *Secession* arguments.[238] For Josephson, and for his contributors who had published in the same circles, these aesthetic debates were rooted in tangled arguments over American Futurism and its relation to proto-Surrealism and Dada (with the split, during *Broom* and *Secession*'s runs, still in its early stages) not concepts of national literature (France versus America). On the American side, Josephson's contributors to the number were Crane, Hemingway, Nagle, Josephson, Cowley, Munson, Slater Brown, Charles L. Durboraw, Crane, John Riordan, Williams and Georges Limbour. On the 'mostly French' side Josephson included Emile Malespine, Michel Leiris, Marcel Arland, André Harlaire, André Desson, Marx Loebe, Joseph Delteil,

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[233] Heap on the trial, '*Ulysses*', *The Little Review*, 9.3 (Autumn 1922), pp. 34-35. Unsigned, 'Advance in Price', *The Little Review*, 7.3 (Sept-Dec 1920), unpaginated; *Little Review*, Picabia Number, 8.2 (Spring, 1922).
[234] Reiterated in the 'Contributors' Notes', *The Little Review*, 7.1 (Spring-Summer 1926), p. 17, referring to 'the Surrealists' as the French group and the 'very loosely' affiliated American group.
[235] Frontispiece, *The Little Review*, 12.1 (Spring-Summer 1926), front pages.
[236] Josephson, *Surrealists,* p. 291.
[237] Josephson, 'A Letter to My Friends', *The Little Review*, 12.1 (Spring-Summer 1926), pp. 17-18.
[238] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 292.

Jacques Viot, Hans Arp, René Crevel, Jacques Baron, Tristan Tzara and G. Ribemont Dessaignes: Josephson sought contributors from both Tzara's *Le Coeur à Barbe,* and Breton's *Littérature*.[239]

Cowley's contribution to the number was an 'Anthology' composed of a series of poems that satirised other writers in the 'group', with poems to Crane, Josephson, Munson, Burke, and even 'Walter S. Hankel'.[240] The appearance of 'Hankel', the fictional *Aesthete, 1925* editor, would, as Josephson hoped to do with the overall project, highlight the internal differences between this 'group' by recalling the arguments between *Broom* and *Secession*. Cowley uses creative criticism to comment on the aesthetic differences between Munson and Josephson. Cowley's barbed imitation of 'Gorham B. Munson', packed with tautologies, pokes fun at Munson's editorial hyperbole, mysticism and fondness for categories. Cowley makes similar claims to Lowell in her piece on *Secession* in *The New Republic*, and criticises Munson's interest in 'structure' and 'a host of theories', and, through his shifting through absurd comparison, the interest in metonymy that was theorised in critical articles in *Secession*:

> Theory is better than practice. Words are the man. The
>
> Man is a window or a door. A battledore or a double door.
>
> Out of a door the picador. The door adores the picador the
>
> picador the matador. The matador adores dormice. He
>
> will stay for lunch.[241]

This is contrasted against 'Matthew Josephson', which affectionately comments on his use of Dadaist poetic collage techniques, as seen in his 'A Gift Beautiful' which quotes an advert for 'Adjusto-Light', 'a lamp with a clamp'.[242] Cowley scatters arbitrarily linked 'surface phenomena' throughout the poem and shifts between 'telephone[s]', 'vulcanized rubber', 'Bowling Green[s]', 'Mr [Otto] Kahn', 'steel and copper', 'railways', and 'public utilities'.[243]

Like Seaver's 'arms blossoming', in 'Hart Crane' Cowley relies on the fact that 'hands' coupled with these sea images quickly invoke Crane's sequence, and he opens his poem 'Jesus I saw crossing Times square […] their hands touch mine'.[244] Crane's images of hands are 'fold[ed]' throughout the sequence: 'fingers', 'fold', 'caresses', 'palms' 'gathering', 'caught', 'pieties of lovers' hands', 'rich palms', 'close round one instant', 'wind', 'stroke',

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[239] This being prior to Tzara and Breton's 1929 reconciliation. See Marius Hentea, *TaTa Dada: The Real Life and Celestial Adventures of Tristan Tzara* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), pp. 221-22.
[240] Cowley, 'Anthology', pp. 33-36.
[241] i.e. Winters, 'Testament of Stone' in *Secession*; Cowley, 'Gorham Munson', in 'Anthology', p. 35, ll. 4-8.
[242] Unsigned, Adjusto-Lite Advert, 'The Lamp with a Clamp', *Popular Mechanics Advertising Section* 5.38 (November 1922), p. 163.
[243] Cowley, 'Matthew Josephson', in 'Anthology', pp. 34-35, ll. 1-15.
[244] Cowley, 'Hart Crane', p. 35, ll. 1-2.

'reliquary hands', 'touch', 'strangle', 'Knowing I cannot touch your hand' (which nods to 'Faustus', 'There is some way, I think, to touch | Those hands of yours that count the nights'), 'lift', 'twine'. [245] The importance of this image is made clear in the final lines of 'III' where this image 'binds' with the title: 'Permit me voyage, love, into your hands…'[246] As in this line—and, through the oblique allusion 'holy palmers' kiss through the pun—hands are tactile, but they are also pleading.[247] Cowley's poem to Crane, later published in 1929's *Blue Juniata*, reads:

> Jesus I saw crossing Times square
> with John the Baptist and they bade me stop
> their hands touched mine
>
> Visions from the belly of a bottle
>
> The sea white white
> the flower in the sea
> the white fire glowing in the flower
> and sea and fire and flower one
> the world is one, falsehood and truth
> one, morning and midnight, flesh and vision
> one
>
> I fled among the avenues of night
> interminably and One pursued
> My bruised arms in His arms nursed
> my chest against His bleeding chest
> my head limp against his shoulder[248]

Cowley explicitly draws on central images of the 'Voyages' to establish the parody, but he also, tongue in cheek, amplifies Crane's coded images—which, in turn, borrow from Whitman. The 'flower in the sea' and 'flower one' are borrowed from 'Voyages II' ('Voyages I', in *The Little Review* arrangement) where Crane writes 'In these poinsettia meadows of her tides [....] crocus lustres' and, 'Close round one instant in one floating

[245] Crane, 'Poster', p. 20, ll. 411, 14; 'Voyages' ['IV'], p. 119, ll. 4, 20, 21; 'Voyages II' ['I' in *TLR*], p. 13, ll. 10, 17, 20; 'Voyages III' ['II' in *TLR*], pp. 13-14, ll. 5, 6, 8, 19; 'Voyages V' ['III' in *TLR*], p. 14, ll. 5, 9, 15.
[246] Crane, 'Voyages III', ['II' in *TLR*], p. 14, l. 19; 'Voyages V' ['III' in *TLR*], pp. 15-16, ll. 9, 15; 'Voyages VI' ['IV' in *TLR*], p. 15, ll. 1, 27.
[247] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* ed. by Brian Gibbons, (Methuen: London, 1980), I. V, p. 119, l. 99.
[248] Cowley, 'Anthology', pp. 33-36; *Blue Juniata: Poems 1919-1929* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929).

flower'.[249] 'Pursued' recalls the narrative of seduction and consummation in the sequence – and Crane had even written a directive note in his jotter on these poems: 'O pursued lumine'—Whitman'. [250] Cowley's veiling of the sexual as religious is deliberately uncompelling. The homoeroticism of the embrace in Cowley's final lines is not disguised by the use of the 'Jesus' and 'John the Baptist' figures—where the religious figure is a proxy when the poet cannot identify their lover. Cowley is thinking of the image of 'mingling | Mutual blood' in 'IV' from *1924*. The sexual is frequently framed as religious in the 'Voyages', following Whitman. [251] This idea of 'mingling blood' recalls the Christian sacrament, and so the sexual is, unlike in earlier poems such as 'C33' or 'Modern Craft', redemptive in these poems: 'in him we have redemption through his blood.'[252] In 'IV', drawing on this language, Crane barely disguises the moment of consummation at the centre of the series:

> In signature of the incarnate word
> The harbor shoulders to resign in mingling
> Mutual blood, transpiring as foreknown
> And widening noon within your breast for gathering
> All bright insinuations that my years have caught
> For islands where must lead inviolably
> Blue latitudes and levels of your eyes,—[253]

'In signature of the incarnate word' sits, characteristically, between meanings. As Cowley's parody highlights, Crane is paraphrasing the Biblical phrase 'and the word was made flesh'.[254] But, this was also how he described his lover, Emil Opffer, in a letter to Waldo Frank. The 'word made flesh' or 'incarnate' ('invested, embodied with flesh') is Crane's muse for this particular 'Voyages' poem, Emil Opffer—Crane noted 'EO' beneath 'IV' in his own typed manuscript copy of *White Buildings*.[255] 'All the drama of Hart's turbulent

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[249] Crane, 'Voyages II' ['I' in *TLR*], *The Little Review*, p. 13, ll. 12-13.
[250] Crane, Notebook, box 10, Crane Papers (New York). This is a distillation of a few phrases—images of 'voyages', also, being common in Whitman's poetry. See 'the voyage we pursue does not fall' in 'A Song of the Rolling Earth', and see 'As I Walk These Broad Majestic Days' with 'The rapt promises and lumine of seers, the spiritual world, these | centuries-lasting songs'. Crane's figurative 'Blue latitudes of your eyes' seems to stem from Whitman's similar coded application in 'Salut au Monde!': 'Within me latitude widens, longtitude lengthens'. Whitman, 'A Song of the Rolling Earth', *Leaves of Grass*, pp. 176-180 (p. 177), l. 43; 'As I Walk These Broad Majestic Days', ibid., p. 369, l. 20; 'Salut au Monde', ibid., pp. 112-120, l. 14.
[251] See M. Jimmie Killingsworth, *Whitman's Poetry of the Body: Sexuality, Politics, and the Text* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
[252] Ephesians 1:7, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, ed. by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 239.
[253] Crane, 'Voyages' ['IV'], p. 119, ll. 17-23.
[254] John 1:14, *The Bible*, p. 114.
[255] 'incarnate', 'collage', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/93330?rskey=yr4lbt&result=1&isAdvanced=false> accessed 20. 11. 15; To Waldo Frank, 21 April 1924, *OML,* p. 186; Crane, 'Voyages IV', *White Buildings* [typed MSS copy], box 10, Crane Papers (New York).

personality was there in the strange images of those verses', wrote Josephson of the connections between the 'Voyages' and Crane's relationships, adding that he felt that Crane had been 'unreconciled to the anxieties of his position.'[256] For Crane, the act of writing became bound up with this 'anxiety' about depicting his homosexuality in his poetry (the 'love of things irreconcilable' as he put it in 'Faustus'), and the 'Voyages' work through a series of comparisons between textual and physical 'anatomies'. With 'signature' Crane is flagging the 'insinuations' he makes in these stanzas, and nudges for a more explicit reading—in particular with the final images of 'receive' and 'secret oar'.[257] Crane is wry about this process of codification: 'And could they hear me I would tell them'.[258] 'Signature' gives 'sign', the action or thing expressed, essentially metaphorically, through language. As such, 'word made flesh' or 'incarnate word' and 'in signature' play against each other in these poems. In the former ('word made flesh', 'incarnate word') the abstract is made physical, i.e. a physical expression of love. But for the latter ('in signature') we get the 'sign', or the process of writing, as the physical is made abstract (for example, sexual acts described in poetry).

Crane had already introduced this play on the 'incarnate word' in 'Voyages I'. Munson accepted the poem for his newly founded *Secession* in the summer of 1922. But, having shown the poem to Burke (then helping edit *The Dial*) the two suggested 'changes'. Crane, writing back, found them mostly 'beyond him', but did agree to change the title: 'you might name it "Poster" if the idea hits you. There is something more profound in it than a "stop, look and listen" sign.' The then title 'Poster' is nonetheless revealing given Crane's comment that this would be a 'sign', or sets up the framework for the forthcoming poems.[259] From 'Voyages I':

> […] but there is a line
> You must not cross nor ever trust beyond it
> Spry cordage of your bodies to caresses
> Too lichen-faithful from too wide a breast […][260]

Immediately after the 'you' of the poem is introduced—delayed until the 13th line—we get this salient, compressed, physical image of tensed muscles (responding to touch) in the

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[256] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 294. Crane's sexuality was an open secret in his circles. He had declared this to Munson very early in their friendship late in 1919, as noted by Mariani (*Broken Tower*, pp. 60-61), and Williams, highly offensively, but illustrating that this was common knowledge, called Crane a 'crude homo' in a letter to Ezra Pound, box 55, folder 2518, Pound Papers (New Haven).
[257] Crane, 'Voyages' ['IV'], p. 119, l. 25.
[258] Crane, 'Poster', p. 20, l. 9.
[259] To Munson, Monday, 1921, *Letters,* p. 99. As with 'Faustus', Crane first sent drafts to Munson. 'I' was sent under the title 'The Bottom of the Sea is Cruel'. Crane to Munson, Summer/Monday 1922, box 22, Crane/Munson Correspondence (Columbus).
[260] Crane, 'Poster', p. 20.

third line. But as in 'IV', and Crane's line from 'The Wine Menagerie', 'new thresholds, new anatomies', this 'line' is also a comment on the poem's language, addressing Crane's 'slants' between meanings and the 'anatomy' of the poem and, specifically, his use of the 'logic' and the boundaries of the associationally constructed image.[261] Crane ends the 'Voyages' with the same statement:

> The imaged Word, it is, that holds
> Hushed willows anchored in its glow.
> It is the unbetrayable reply
> Whose accent no farewell can know.[262]

Here 'imaged word' is synonymous with his descriptions in letters of the 'word made flesh'—as is underlined by capitalising 'Word'—or 'in signature of the incarnate word'. Crane comments on the necessity of this codification with 'hushed' and 'unbetrayable', which ends the sequence on a forbidding note. This was rooted in a very practical concern. The majority of the 'Voyages' were written after the summer of 1922, when a love affair resulted in Crane being blackmailed. Crane was forced to hand over $10.00 of his $25.00 weekly salary, under the threat of his father being informed of his homosexuality.[263] The possibility of this written threat, then, haunts these poems, as Crane had worried in the final line of 'I' written almost a year before: 'the bottom of the sea is cruel.'

This associational mode dictated the erotic moments that pattern the sequence. Crane experiments with the 'slant[s]' between meanings produced through these juxtaposed metaphors. For instance:

> […] 'There's
> Nothing like this in the world', you say,
> Knowing that I cannot touch your hand and look
> Too, into that godless cleft of sky
> Where nothing turns but dead sands flashing.
>
> '—And never to quite understand!' No,
> In all the argosy of your bright hair I dreamed
> Nothing so flagless as this piracy. [264]

Taken literally, with 'argosy' of 'bright hair' there is an image of a 'vessel' (literally a 'merchant's ship') of blonde hair, constructing a portrait of Opffer, a blonde haired ship's purser. Unpicking this metaphor creates quite a simple image of the narrator burying his

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[261] This is discussed further in Chapter III, pp. 135-145.
[262] Crane, 'Voyages VI' ['IV' in *TLR*] , p. 15, ll. 29-32.
[263] Mariani, *Broken Tower*, pp. 95-6.
[264] The interest in sleep and wakefulness is, of course, also a Surrealist concern. There are perhaps traceable elements of Aragon's 'Bottle Lost at Sea' in the 'Voyages'.

head into the 'bright hair'—still smelling of sea salt—of his lover, just disembarked, imagining, as he sleeps in his arms, his dreams about the 'drifting foam' of the sea, and the 'flashing' 'sand' of the shoreline as it is viewed from the ship. Then, in this final stanza Crane slows down the tightly packed, complex images:

> But now
>
> Draw in your head, alone, and too tall here.
>
> Your eyes already in the slant of drifting foam;
>
> Your breath sealed by ghosts I do not know:
>
> Draw in your head and sleep the long way home.[265]

Here the search for metaphors gradually disintegrates into lyrical description, strangely content to imagine Opffer's past and future lovers: the 'ghosts I do not know'.

Central to Cowley's critical response in his poem is his suspicion of this associative 'logic' as it operates in the 'Voyages'—despite his own similar experiments in *Secession*—and his amusement at unpicking Crane's coded descriptions of his partners (Opffer, at least, was in Crane and Cowley's social circle).[266] Cowley first toys with Crane's use of metonymy: 'sea and fire and flower one', and then, 'world is one…flesh and vision one'.[267] Cowley's joke here is how we get from the first object, the 'sea', to the end point: 'flesh'. This is the most basic associative relationship in the 'Voyages', as Crane finds the rhythms of the body and the sea interchangeable. This joke at the expense of the fabric of Crane's verse taps into contemporary assessments of Crane's 'unintelligible' 'logic' as 'confused' and 'confounding', to borrow from Eastman and Monroe (as discussed in Chapter III). [268] In his review of *White Buildings* in *Poetry*, Winters made a similar point, noting that these lyrics create 'a series of perceptions so minute and so thoroughly insulated from each other that little unifying force or outline results.' Winters's charge that the poems are too fragmentary to be intelligible is familiar in criticism of Crane. Winters emphasises the individuality of these lyrics—a point that may owe something to the gradual publication of the poems. Winters does not discuss the 'Voyages' as a set, but picks out individual parts for comment: 'The greatest poems, for me, are *Repose of Rivers*, *For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen*, *Recitative*, and *Voyages II* and *V'* [Winters's formatting].[269]

As with *The Bridge* and 'Faustus', the individual publications show Crane's experimentation using fragmentary forms to construct a long poem. These individual publications illustrate the ability of the sequence to operate in both discrete lyrical parts and

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[265] Crane, 'Voyages V' ['III' in *TLR*], p. 14, ll. 21-25.
[266] See pp. 90-93; Mariani, *The Broken Tower*, pp. 152-53.
[267] Cowley, 'Hart Crane', p. 34, ll. 5-8.
[268] Monroe, 'Discussion', pp. 34-41; Eastman, 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', pp. 632-639.
[269] Winters's formatting in 'Hart Crane's Poems', review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *Poetry,* 30.1 (1927), pp. 47-51, 47, 49.

different arrangements, with Crane content for the four poems in *The Little Review* to appear without 'I' and 'IV'. The sequence in *The Little Review* is markedly different to *White Buildings* as it opens in medias res with the first line of 'II': '—And yet this great wink of eternity'.[270] The sequence, then, begins with a compressed metaphor, where Crane is not only describing the horizon (the curved, 'wink', shape of a vast sea scape) but is also implying the atemporality of these love poems—something his biographers have linked to Opffer's sailing schedule, with stretches of time at sea, then intense weeks with Crane.[271] In contrast, the *White Buildings* arrangement begins with a placing line: 'Above the fresh ruffles of the surf.'[272] '[A]bove' forces the reader to take in two different viewpoints (the natural eye line and the gaze 'above' that, as directed by Crane) looking just above the surface of the water (and thus to the horizon) not directly on the 'fresh ruffles'. While still elusive, the line is rooted by the 'Bright striped urchins', the physical action of 'crumbl[ing] fragments of baked weed' and the sketched out beach scene, before ending with the final line 'The bottom of the sea is cruel', which introduces the more abstracted poems that follow.

The Little Review sequence and the individual publications of 'I' and 'IV' both highlight the individual lyrical forms within the *Voyages* sequence—after all, Crane did not originally imagine that 'Poster' would become the first of a set of six poems.[273] This invites a re-examination of the initial contexts of these poems as discrete lyrics—assembled into a coherent sequence—rather than, say, a cumulative narrative progression. This approach complicates the common reading of the full sequence as predominantly dedicated to Crane's relationship with Opffer, and takes note of the specific local genealogy of the lyrical sections of the text.[274] Crane had several muses: one, a ship's officer, another man whose affair with Crane ended, in his words, in 'appalling tragedy' and, of course, Opffer. Crane's affair with Opffer began in the Spring of 1924. While 'IV' is certainly concentrated on Opffer, the casting of a single unity, or cumulative narrative, from these poems with specific local genealogies is, then, somewhat anachronous. Publishing the 'Voyages' within the literary networks of *Secession*, *1924*, and *The Little Review* challenged Crane to consider individual responses to the poems as they appeared. Judging by the relative amount of activity on the sequence in 1924, it seems 'Voyages' dominated Crane's writing—and thus, his correspondence—during this year.

Recontextualising Crane's poetry among the 'exile' journals, and publications within their shared networks, sheds light on some of its most complex aspects. The 'logic'

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[270] Crane, 'I' ['II' in *TLR*], *The Little Review*, p. 13, ll. 1-5.
[271] Mariani, *The Broken Tower,* p. 157.
[272] Crane, 'Voyages I', *Complete Poems*, p. 34, l. 1.
[273] Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 262.
[274] Ibid., pp. 182, 216, 357, 225-6, 353-355.

was developed, first of all, through his reading of fin-de-siècle poetry, and was shaped by the 'post-Decadent' contributions to Greenwich Village journals, particularly *The Pagan*. However, the previously unacknowledged influence of proto-Surrealist experiments with metaphor on Crane's associative mode cannot be ignored. This influence is clear not only in Crane's poetry, but can be found in his close engagement with this group of journals and the 'technical' debates conducted between *Secession*, *Broom, S4N* and *1924*. Crane's use of 'the image' develops from weaker comparisons such as 'trees that *seem* dancing', '*like* ancient lace', [my emphases],[275] and through his engagement with the 'exile' journals matures so that, to quote from Breton's 1924 *Manifeste*, it resists 'comparison'. Instead, it operates according to the principle of the 'juxtaposition of two more or less remote realities' and so we get the direct, confident metonymy of 'Faustus' and the 'Voyages' where the 'mind' is 'at times', 'baked and labelled dough', and is also 'brushed by sparrow wings'. And so the 'remote' comparisons are not only associative, collaged images in themselves, but, in their similar juxtaposition (both are, also, at the start of the stanza) Crane creates a reading between the lines contrasting the stodgy, uninspired 'dough' of slow thought in the first line, and the flash of inspiration with the swift touch of the 'sparrow wings'.[276] This influence, borrowing from the deliberately jarring juxtapositions of Aragon and Soupault's work in *Secession* and *Broom*—and Cowley and Josephson's attempts in this vein—explains Crane's choice of, at times, disorientating or unexpected images that have, for some critics, been a source of 'despair' and alienation at their 'obscurity'.[277] The difference, though, is that while Crane is interested in highlighting the constructedness of the metaphor, he still bears in mind the more Symbolist principle to convey 'not the thing but the effect it produces'. In other words, he is interested in disorientating, surreal juxtapositions, but he still wants to retain the sense of the line, and its emotional charge—as he does to great effect in the 'Voyages', where 'poinsettia meadows' is, at first, a strange seeming choice for a description of 'tides', but is used to suggest choppy water, and chimes with the description of the sea as a 'meadow', while the blood red colour reinforces the bodily imagery of the line.

The 'logic' was employed regularly in these poems to allow Crane to use 'machine age' details without their inclusion resulting in 'surface phenomena', turning the work into a 'picture of the "period"'.[278] Crane's use of 'machine age' ideas, here termed American Futurism, has been mostly overlooked, with the exception of Dickran Tashjian's chapter on Crane in *Skyscraper Primitivism: Dada and the American Avant-Garde,* but, it should

[275] Crane, 'October November', p. 4 l. 6; Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, l. 28;
[276] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 1, ll. 1-2, 8.
[277] See footnote 20 (Introduction).
[278] Crane discusses this issue more generally at length in the 'Aims', *Poems and Letters,* p. 161.

be noted, in general the study emphasises the borrowings of Americans from Europe, rather than their own interrogation of these forms, and the mutual influences between European and U.S. writers. Crane's idea is to employ 'the machine that sings'.[279] In other words, the 'machine' must 'sing' in the Classical sense, to be a muse, and to be thoroughly integrated into the verse, in the same way that the surroundings in a landscape poem are not incidental to the text, but are its spine.[280] For Crane, 'machine age details' and the depiction of the modern, cosmopolitan city must be fully integrated into the poem, rather than used arbitrarily to 'paint a photograph'. As the 'Voyages' demonstrate, the 'logic' became a useful tool for Crane to discuss his sexuality within his poetry. These poems set up an analogy between the 'anatomy' of the text and the body that Crane would continue to interrogate in his poetry. These developments would, though, prove problematic when Crane sought to publish in *The Dial* and *Poetry*, as a result of both his use of experimental forms and his association with specialist, avant-garde journals.

[279] Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *Poetry*, p. 28, l. 43.
[280] Gordon Tapper uses this phrase as the title for his monograph on Crane, seeing the 'machine that sings' as the body. See *The Machine That Sings: Modernism, Hart Crane, and the Culture of the Body* (London: Routledge, 2006).

III

'Mixed Metaphors': Publishing in *The Dial* and *Poetry*

> Many writers will continue to appear first in small 'group magazines'. Our business is to furnish a not too scattered public for what they write well.
> 'Comment', *The Dial*, 83.3 (September 1927), p. 270.[1]

'It has been very discouraging', Crane told Charmion von Wiegand in 1923, 'to see how very "safe" *The Dial* plays sometimes, despite its protests to the contrary.'[2] Crane highlighted his disappointment with *The Dial*, partly the result of their consistent rejection of his poems, in contrast to his interest in *Secession* and *Broom*.[3] *Secession*, was, he wrote, publishing 'such new and suggestive material' and was 'far more daring in its experiments', not least, in Crane's eyes, because they were accepting his poetry. Crane found a greater aesthetic affinity with the editing tastes of the 'exile' journals than with *The Dial*: 'when you see the first two parts of my "Faustus and Helen" that comes out in *Broom* in Feb. or March, you will better see what I mean,' he told Wiegand.[4] He had similar, but even less charitable, views on *Poetry*, dismissing the journal in 1926 as 'Miss M's one-time famous sheet.'[5]

Crane famously argued with Marianne Moore (editor of Scofield Thayer and James Sibley Watson Jnr.'s *Dial* from 1925 to 1929) and Harriet Monroe (founder and editor of *Poetry* until her sudden death in 1936) over editing interventions made to poems published in their journals, 'The Wine Menagerie' and 'At Melville's Tomb'.[6] Moore edited 'The Wine Menagerie' down from 49 to 18 lines for the May 1926 number of *The Dial*, and gave the poem a new title, 'Again' (reproduced in Appendix 3, i).[7] At *Poetry*, Monroe agreed to publish 'At Melville's Tomb', after consulting Yvor Winters, with the caveat that Crane provide an explanation of his 'confused', 'champion mixed metaphors' for publication

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[1] Attributed to James Sibley Watson in Alan C. Golding, 'Dialogics of Modernism', p. 54.
[2] Crane to Wiegand, 20 January 1923, *Letters*, pp. 120-122 (p. 121).
[3] Crane appeared eleven times in *The Dial* but had twenty-seven rejections from the journal. See Appendix 1, Table 7.
[4] Crane to Charmion von Wiegand, ibid.
[5] Crane to Burke, 28 September 1926, *OML*, p. 276.
[6] Moore was officially 'managing editor' until January 1926, but Jayne E. Marek suggests that she had taken over full editing duties months before this date, but believed Thayer's association with the journal was crucial to its success. Marek, *Women Editing Modernism* (Kentucky University Press, 1995), pp. 138-142.
[7] Crane and Moore, 'Again', *The Dial*, 80.5 (May 1926), p. 370.

alongside the poem. The result of their correspondence, 'A Discussion with Hart Crane' appeared with 'At Melville's Tomb' in the October 1926 number.[8] The editing interventions at *Poetry* and *The Dial* are familiar to discussions of Crane's poetry.[9] Moore's edit is particularly well known, but how her editorial principles conflicted with Crane's technique, borne out of his association with avant-garde journals, has not yet been sufficiently examined.

This chapter takes Moore's edit as its starting point, but contextualises 'Again' within Crane's wider relationship at *The Dial*, and among other contemporaneous reactions to his poetry, most notably, the 'Discussion'. This first section foregrounds Moore's appraisal of Crane by examining his relationship with *The Dial* in the early 1920s and notes the formal developments in Crane's poetry that Moore and her predecessors found unpalatable, and sets out their significance as part of a pattern of similar contemporaneous complaints about Crane's poetry that were, as noted in part three, reinforced by Monroe's comments in the 'Discussion'. Part two examines Moore's edit of 'The Wine Menagerie', illustrating the clash between her editing principles and Crane's aesthetic. Finally, part three draws together the ideas raised in the preceding chapter sections, and suggests that the 'Discussion' not only echoed Moore's edit, but set out more formally a critical language for dealing with Crane. Moore's edit intersects with Monroe's comments in the 'Discussion' and other contemporaneous appraisals of Crane's poetry. This intersection is particularly important when assessing Crane's immediate reception, given the proximity of the edit (which was public knowledge at least in *Dial* circles, and among Crane's friends—who were also his reviewers) to the 'Discussion' and the publication of *White Buildings*.[10] The critical language of the 'Discussion' was reiterated not only immediately in reviews of *White Buildings*, but can also be detected in reviews of *The Bridge*, Winters's and Allen Tate's famous essays on Crane in *Poetry*, and in recent criticism of Crane's poetry.[11]

'Again' was Crane's first poetic publication in *The Dial* after three years of rejections while he was closely involved in *Secession* and *Broom*'s literary circles. Prior to 'Again', *The Dial* had published 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' (April 1920), 'Pastorale'

[8] Crane and Monroe, 'A Discussion', pp. 34-41. (p. 35); Crane, 'At Melville's Tomb', ibid., p. 25.
[9] Jack Selzer deems the edit a 'notorious' example of Moore's 'celebrated misjudgement[s]', *Kenneth Burke,* p. 136; Also see: Victoria Bazin, 'Hysterical Virgins and Little Magazines: Marianne Moore's Editorship of *The Dial*', *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 4.1 (2013), pp. 55-75; Yingling, *Homosexual Text,* p. 108; Warner Berthoff, *Hart Crane: A Reintroduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1989), p. 33; Marek, *Women Editing Modernism*, p. 162,
[10] Crane to Winters, 5 October 1926, *OML*, pp. 283-85 (p. 284); Crane to Charlotte and Richard Rychtarik, *OML,* pp. 209-10 (p. 210); Josephson, *Surrealists*, pp. 295-97.
[11] Winters, 'Progress', pp. 153-65; Tate, 'American Mind', pp. 210-16.

(October 1921), and 'Praise for an Urn: To Ernest Nelson' (June 1922).[12] After writing to Gilbert Seldes (then an assistant editor at *The Dial*), Crane had two anonymous 'Briefer Mentions' in the March 1924 issue, and had also been commissioned for a review of Ernest Bramah's *The Wallet of Kai Lung*, but the piece did not appear.[13] Crane reviewed Romer Wilson's *The Grand Tour* and Thomas Moult's *The Best Poems of 1922* (March 1924), and both are undocumented by Crane's bibliographers and critics.[14] Crane went on to appear regularly in *The Dial* after the publication of 'Again', although he still had a high number of rejections (27, dwarfing his 13 appearances), and suggestions for edits from Moore.[15] Crane's publications in *The Dial* were 'Repose of Rivers' (September 1926), 'To Brooklyn Bridge' (June 1927), 'Powhatan's Daughter' (October 1927, later titled 'The Dance'), 'The Air Plant' (February 1928), 'The Mermen' (September 1928), 'Caricature of Slater Brown' (a sketch, February 1929), and 'A Name for All' (April 1929).[16]

'At Melville's Tomb' was Crane's first submission to *Poetry*, as he began to think more seriously about expanding his readership, perhaps with the imminent publication of *White Buildings* in mind. As John T. Newcomb has remarked of Wallace Stevens, involvement with *Poetry* offered a 'solidly established position', 'a relatively wide audience and the possibility of long-term critical advocacy.'[17] After the 'prose controversy' of the 'Discussion', Crane appeared in *Poetry* a further six times, and seems to have had only had one official rejection.[18] These later appearances were aided by Monroe's appointment of Morton Dauwen Zabel, as well as Winters's advocacy.[19] Zabel was a friend of Tate's, and was an ally of Crane's at *Poetry*. This was made clear in his review of the 1933 *Complete Poems*, where Zabel wrote admiringly of Crane's 'heroic vision'—an article that prompted Moore

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[12] Crane, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', p. 457; 'Pastorale', *The Dial*, 71.4 (October 1921), p. 422; 'Praise for an Urn: To E.N.', *The Dial*, 72.6 (June 1922), p. 606.
[13] Crane to Moore 21 October 1925, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven). Crane, 'Briefer Mention: Romer Wilson', p. 198; 'Briefer Mention: Thomas Moult', p. 200. These are not catalogued by Barbara Zingman in *The Dial*: *An Author Index* (New York: Whitsun, 1975), or by any of Crane's critics or bibliographers) but are noted in Nicholas Joost and Alvin Sullivan's pamphlet, "*The Dial", Two Author Indexes: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Contributors; Contributors in Clipsheets* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1971), p. 15.
[14] Monroe to Crane, 18 July 1928, box 7, Crane Papers (New York).
[15] See Appendix 1, Table 7 for full details of rejections.
[16] Crane, 'Repose of Rivers', *The Dial*, 81.3 (September 1926), p. 204; 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial,* 82.6 (June 1927), pp. 389-90; 'Powhatan's Daughter', *The Dial*, 83.4 (October 1927), pp. 329-32; 'The Air Plant', *The Dial*, 84.2 (February 1928), p. 140; 'The Mermen', *The Dial*, 85.3 (September 1928), p. 230; 'Caricature of Slater Brown', *The Dial*, 86.2 (February 1929), p. 122; 'A Name for All', *The Dial*, 86.4 (April 1929), p. 297.
[17] John Timberman Newcomb, '*Others*, *Poetry*, and Wallace Stevens: Little Magazines as Agents of Reputation', *Essays in Literature*, 16.2 (1989), pp. 256-70 (p. 258).
[18] Monroe to Crane, 18 July 1928, box 7, Crane Papers (New York); Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber,' p. 4.
[19] Winters to George Dillon, 31 May 1938, *Dear Editor*: *A History of Poetry in Letters*, ed. by Joseph Parisi and Stephen Young (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), pp. 329-330 (p. 329).

to write to Zabel, condescendingly praising him for his 'chivalry' in 'taking trouble for [Crane] as you do' while claiming, disingenuously, that she was unfamiliar with his poetry.[20]

Poetry published 'Cutty Sark', 'O Carib Isle' (both in October 1927), 'Eldorado' (April 1930), a reprint of 'To Brooklyn Bridge' on their awarding Crane their annual prize for *The Bridge,* and finally 'From Haunts of Prosperine', a review of James Whaler's *Green River* (April 1932) commissioned by Zabel, and Crane's last publication during his lifetime.[21] His mother, Grace Hart Crane, chose *Poetry* for the publication of a memorial group of Crane's poems, titled 'The Urn'. 'The Urn', printed in the January 1933 number, included 'By Nilus Once I Knew', 'The Circumstance', 'Enrich My Resignation', 'Havana Rose', 'Imperator Victus', 'Phantom Bark', 'A Postscript', 'Purgatorio', 'Reliquary', 'Reply', 'The Sad Indian', and 'The Visible the Untrue'.[22]

Crane's uneasy relationships with *The Dial* and *Poetry* in the mid 1920s were rooted in his associations with two connected publishing groups discussed in Chapters I and II: the first being the Greenwich Village circles publishing a 'post-Decadent' strand of modernist poetry where Crane began his poetic career, while overt fin-de-siècle influences were unfashionable at *The Dial* and *Poetry*, and the second being the 'exile' magazines. The 'exile' journal's cosmopolitan idea of American modernist poetry and simultaneous interest in 'tradition' and the 'daring experiments' of American Futurism (known pejoratively as 'skyscraper primitivism' at *The Dial*[23]) and proto-Surrealist 'juxtaposed' metaphors were considered 'so near to Europe and so far from America' by measure of the more local tastes at *The Dial* and *Poetry*.[24] By the spring of 1923, Crane was, at least in the eyes of *The Fugitive* and *S4N*, a *'Secessionist'*.[25] This classification, buried in the contributors' notes of both journals, hints at the literary and social context in which Crane's uneasy relationships with *The Dial* and *Poetry* developed, and helps to explain his period of, apparently mutual,

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[20] Zabel, 'The Book of Hart Crane', *Poetry*, 42.1 (April 1933), pp. 33-39 (p. 33); Moore to Zabel, 14 March 1933, *Selected Letters*, ed. by Bonnie Costello (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 304. Moore, 'Morton Dauwen Zabel', obituary, *The New York Review of Books* (11 June 1964) <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1964/06/11/morton-dauwen-zabel-19021964> accessed: 27 August 2016.

[21] Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *Poetry*, 31.1 (October 1927), pp. 27-30; 'O Carib Isle', *Poetry*, 31.1 (October 1927), pp. 30-31; 'Eldorado', 36.1 (April 1930), pp. 13-15; 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *Poetry,* 37.2 (November 1930), pp. 109-109; 'From Haunts of Prosperine, James Whaler, *Green River*', 40.1 (April 1932), pp. 44-47.

[22] Crane, 'The Urn', *Poetry*, 41.4 (January 1933), pp. 177-186; Grace Hart Crane's submission and Crane's MSS in Harriet Monroe Papers, box 19, folder 10 (Chicago).

[23] '"skyscraper primitivism" as our tendency is called in discussions and attacked in *Dial*, *Lit. Review*, etc.', Loeb, *The Way It Was*, p. 187. Such was the prevalence of this label, that in *The Little Review*'s Stella number, Stella responded to this label with his *Study for a Skyscraper*, a collage built from photographs of aeroplanes and machinery that is shaped, after the primitivist fashions of Picasso, Jacob Epstein, Konstantin Brancusi or Gaudier Brzeska's sculptures, resembling an Easter Island type figure. Stella, *Study for a Skyscraper*, *The Little Review*, 9.3 (Autumn 1922), p. 32. See Figure 6.

[24] Crane to Wiegand, 20 January 1923, *Letters*, pp. 120-122 (p. 121); Monroe, 'Why Not Laugh?', *Poetry*, 33.4 (January 1929), pp. 206-09 (p. 209).

[25] The editors, 'Notes on Contributors', *The Fugitive*, 2.8 (August 1923), p. 127; The editors, 'Notes on Contributors', *S4N*, 4. 25 (March-April 1923), unpaginated.

disaffection with *The Dial*. Crane's experiments with metaphors, assembled through juxtaposed, collaged metaphors (e.g. the 'mind' as 'baked and labelled dough'), and his use of American Futurist tropes ('aeroplanes', 'machines', 'tunnels', advertising, and subway systems) were developed through, and well received in, *Secession*, *Broom*, *Gargoyle*, *S4N*, *1924* and, later in the decade, *transition*.[26] These details, though well suited to the 'exile' journals, were relatively alien to *The Dial* and *Poetry*. Dickran Tashjian's remarks on E.E. Cummings's approach to magazine publishing (he was a regular contributor to *The Dial*[27]) help to explain Crane's uneasy position in the magazine. Noting Cummings's 'experimentalism with the dynamics of Dada', Tashjian points out that, during this period in the early 1920s, although he 'published primarily in *The Dial*, *Vanity Fair*, *Broom*, and *Secession*', the poetry that went to *The Dial* and *Vanity Fair* generally 'expressed romantic notions about love and nature, while he kept typographical experimentation at a minimum', submitting those contributions to *Secession* and *Broom*.[28]

Despite not having specific aesthetic programmes or published manifestos, *The Dial* and *Poetry* can both be characterised by their interest in American literature, which goes some way to explaining Crane's decision to send these journals fragments from *The Bridge*. This is well expressed by, for instance, a regular contributor to both journals, Elizabeth Coatsworth, whose poetry and prose are often marked by her descriptions of the Upper East Coast of the U.S., with references to 'the women of Syracuse' and Maine landscapes.[29] *The Dial* and *Poetry*'s attitude towards national literature conflicted with Crane's, and the attitude presented in the 'exile' journals, despite their similar roots in Bourne's complaints of the American attitude of 'cultural humility' or 'subservience' towards European letters.[30] Rather than simply privileging contributions from American writers, or pieces that showcased U.S. cultural details (but avoiding the European tinge of American Futurism), such as Nicholas Vachel Lindsay's 'The Santa Fé Trail', or 'Niagra', in *Poetry*, this group of short-lived journals developed their own literary–political strategies, as they related to their conception of American literature.[31] As in *The Pagan*, at *Broom* and *Secession* European influences and American literary independence were not considered

[26] Crane, 'Faustus II', p. 1, ll. 1-3; 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 389, ll. 17, 9; 'The River', *Second American Caravan*, 2 (1929), pp. 113-17, ll. 1-17; The Tunnel', *The Criterion*, 6.5 (November 1927), pp. 398-404 (p. 398), ll. 22-3.
[27] See James Dempsey on Thayer and Cummings's complex relationship: *The Tortured Life of Scofield Thayer* (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 2014), pp. 59-61, 94.
[28] Dickran Tashjian, *Skyscraper Primitives: Dada and the American Avant-Garde, 1910-1925* (Middletown: Wesleyan, 1975), p. 172.
[29] Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'The Sicilian Expedition', *The Dial*, 76.5 (May 1924), pp. 421-422; Coatsworth, 'The Engineers', *Poetry*, 28.5 (August 1926), pp. 254-255.
[30] Inherited in part, in *The Dial's* case, from its previous *Seven Arts* editors, including Bourne; Bourne, 'Trans-National America', pp. 86-97.
[31] Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, 'The Santa Fé Trail- A Humoresque', *Poetry*, 4.4 (July 1914), pp. 132-138; 'Niagra', *Poetry,* 10.4 (July 1917), pp. 172-174.

mutually exclusive. As discussed fully in Chapter II, the 'exile journals' published European and U.S. work 'side by side', and in English.[32] This aimed to complicate contemporaneous narratives of European influence on American writing (and what Crane understood, at its worst, to be American literary 'servility') by demonstrating the influence of American writers on their European contemporaries, as in *Broom*'s number dedicated to European responses to American cinema.[33] As Josephson put it, the European contributors to *Secession* and *Broom* were 'allies' not leaders'.[34] The 'literary nationalism' claimed for Crane by a number of his critics must, then, be understood in this nuanced context.[35]

Given that Crane's associative mode became the organising principle that 'raise[d]' his poetry from the mid-1920s onwards, the kinds of pragmatic considerations that Cummings could make in his submissions were difficult for Crane.[36] Crane's 'logic of metaphor' was interpreted by both *The Dial* and *Poetry* as a form of Decadence, both because of its foundations in his 'post-Decadent' experiments in the Village journals, and its links to avant-garde experiments in metaphor in the 'exile' journals. For Monroe, the 'logic' was purely ornamental, '[i]ntellectualist' and 'unintelligible to all but specialists'.[37] After *Broom* and *Secession* ceased publishing in 1924, Crane began seriously approaching *The Dial* with his poetry, as well as sending work to *1924* and *S4N*, before these publications also closed in December 1924 and July 1925, respectively.[38] Crane's newfound attention to *The Dial* came after a period of continual rejections from the journal. While *Secession* and *Broom* were publishing Crane had reliable outlets for his work, and he rarely submitted to *The Dial*.[39] And so, he submitted just one serious poem to *The Dial* in 1923, 'Stark Major' (see Appendix 1 for a full comparison of submissions and rejections by date).[40] Crane had been irritated by *The Dial* after the editors rejected 'Faustus', which he even thought would place him in consideration for *The Dial* prize.[41] Crane told Munson 'I would like to make a vow […] not to send anything to *The Dial* for two years.'[42] But, as he noted in this same

[32] Josephson, 'Apollinaire', p. 13.
[33] Crane to Munson, 6 March 1920, *OML,* pp. 34-36 (p. 36); Soupault, 'U.S.A. Cinema', *Broom*, 2.2 (July 1922), pp. 65-69.
[34] Josephson, 'Apollinaire', p. 13.
[35] See, among many other examples of comments on Crane's 'nationalism': Joseph Remenyi, 'Nationalism, Internationalism, and Universality in Literature', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 5.1. (September 1946), pp. 44-49; White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes,* p. 145.
[36] Crane, 'General Aims', p. 163.
[37] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', pp. 35-36.
[38] See footnote 183 (Chapter II).
[39] *Broom* published from November 1921 but did not capture Crane's attention until *Secession*'s first numbers in the spring and summer of 1922.
[40] The other being a crude joke poem intended to irritate Seldes. See footnote 95, Chapter III.
[41] Crane to Munson, 18 June 1922, *OML,* pp. 91-93 (p. 93).
[42] Crane to Munson, 7 November 1922, *Letters*, pp. 103-04 (p. 103).

letter, continuing to ignore the magazine because the editors were sending his work back would, given its influence, be 'cutting off [his] nose.'[43]

Details from private correspondence, Moore's edit and Monroe's 'Discussion' give the clear impression that both editors were sceptical of Crane's associative mode—a style that distinguishes his early appearances in *The Dial* from those later in the decade. Crane's 'logic of metaphor', outlined in the 'General Aims and Theories', written in 1924-1925, was developed in tandem with his reading of similar experiments in *Broom* and *Secession*.[44] Showing the same motivations as Monroe's in her request for a gloss ('tell me how *dice* can *bequeath an embassy*'), Moore excises the dense, shifting imagery of 'leopard[s]' 'liquid cynosures', and 'forceps of a smile' of the first three stanzas of 'The Wine Menagerie', as well as streamlining the remaining text.[45] Moore saw Crane's associative mode as the result of a lack of 'simplicity' and 'discipline', in contrast to the 'magic and compressed energy' that she valued in the work of poets such as H. D. and William Carlos Williams.[46]

Despite Crane's apparent low opinion of these editors in his letters,[47] his willingness to compromise with Monroe and Moore is testament to his belief that publishing in these journals, and establishing good working relationships with both editors, would be crucial to reaching a wider audience and the consolidation of his reputation, even if he found them overly 'safe'.[48] Both journals had significantly higher readerships than the majority of Crane's publishing outlets. *Poetry* had a circulation of around 1,600 in 1918, while estimates of *The Dial*'s circulation figures have varied, with numbers ranging from four thousand to thirty thousand.[49] *The Dial*'s readership, at 9,500, was considerable in comparison to other contemporary literary periodicals.[50] While *S4N* and *Broom* had, respectively, 2,000 (print run) and 4,000, *The Dial*'s circulation dwarfed that of *The Pagan* and *Secession*, with print runs of 500.[51] This was no doubt attractive to Crane as he sought new, and broader, audiences for his poetry. These appearances in *The Dial* and *Poetry* may have aided his recognition, and

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[43] Crane to Munson, ibid.
[44] Crane, 'General Aims', pp. 160-164; Unterecker, *Voyager*, pp. 258, 377.
[45] Monroe's formatting in the 'Discussion', p. 35; Moore and Crane, 'Again', p. 370, ll. 1-18; 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete*, p. 23-24 (p. 23), ll. 1-14.
[46] Moore, rev. H. D., *Hymen*, *Broom*, 4.2 (January 1923), pp. 133-5 (p. 133); Moore, 'Poet of the Quattrocento', *The Dial*, 82.3 (March 1927), pp. 213-15.
[47] It should be noted that much of Crane's frustrations with Moore, and later Monroe, were expressed in sexist terms, as he referred to both as 'hysterical virgins' policing the content of two major journals. This did not, though, seem to generally affect his view of the magazines, or his publishing habits. He still sent work, such as 'Powhatan's Daughter' to *The Dial*, despite worrying that the mention of 'breasts' would offend Moore. Crane to Tate, 24 February 1927, *OML*, p. 318.
[48] Crane to Wiegand, 20 January 1923, *Letters*, pp. 120-122 (p. 121).
[49] Brooker and Thacker, 'Introduction'*, Modernist Magazines*, II, p. 33; Rainey gives 9,500, perhaps using an average for news-stand sales that modifies for the December peak following *The Waste Land* sales. See *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91. Thacker and Brooker in *Modernist Magazines,* II give 4,000-30,000 (p. 17). See *The Dial* 'News Stand Sales', box 9, folder 327, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[50] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91.
[51] Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, pp. 75, 167.

subsequent publications, at *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, and *The Saturday Review of Literature*, larger circulation magazines: *The New Republic* could sell 45,000 copies of one issue during the 1920s.[52]

Moore's and Monroe's conceptions of Crane's poetry as 'confused' and in need of rationalising (whether through editing or exegesis) pre-empted how his poetry was received, with the first reviews of *White Buildings* (published in late December 1926) coming out just over two months after 'A Discussion with Hart Crane' in *Poetry*. Knowledge of the 'wreck' of Moore's edit was public in Crane's literary networks, with Josephson even offering to buy back the poem.[53] Further, in her review of *White Buildings* for *The New York Herald Tribune* (which had reached a circulation of 1,000,000 in 1926[54]) Taggard describes 'following' the 'prose controversy' of the 'Discussion' and its negative influence on her appraisal of *White Buildings*.[55] Taggard is explicit in her acknowledgement of Monroe's influence, but other reviews of *White Buildings* show similar patterns that are detailed in this chapter. Taking a longer view, the ideas that emerged in reviews of *White Buildings* can also be detected in reviews of *The Bridge* which, as discussed in Chapter IV, helped to shape wider critical narratives of Crane's poetry.[56]

Highlighting the significance of these interventions is crucial given that, uniquely among Crane's magazine publishers, *Poetry* published two highly influential critical narratives of his poetry. Winters's 'The Progress of Hart Crane' appeared in the June 1930 number and it 'cost [him] his friendship with Crane'.[57] Tate's 'Hart Crane and the American Mind' was published after Crane's death, and popularised the idea of *The Bridge* as a 'grand failure'.[58] As with 'Again', while influential to critical narratives of Crane, these pieces of criticism have not been considered within, or even as products of, the journal in which they appeared, *Poetry*.

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[52] Circulation figures from David W. Levey, *Herbert Croly and "The New Republic"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 288.
[53] Crane to Winters, 5 October 1926, *OML*, pp. 283-85 (p. 284); Crane to Charlotte and Richard Rychtarik, *OML,* pp. 209-10 (p. 210); Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists*, pp. 295-97.
[54] Circulation figures from Donald L. Miller, *Supreme City: How Jazz Age Manhattan Gave Birth to Modern America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), p. 338.
[55] Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber', p. 4.
[56] See footnote 333.
[57] Winters, 'Progress', pp. 153-65; Tate, 'American Mind', pp. 210-216.
[58] Tate, 'American Mind', pp. 210-16; see footnote 333 (Chapter IV).

i. *The Dial*: Crane's early publications

a. Founding the new *Dial*

Crane's poetry was shaped by his engagements with *Broom*, *Secession*, *1924*, *S4N, The Little Review*, and other publications that paid close attention to European avant-gardes. Towards the end of 1922, he was unenthusiastic about Thayer and Watson's editing principles that reflected their belief that 'it is not feasible for a journal published in English to be wholly international.'[59] Primarily, *The Dial* was 'to be of assistance to young American artists and writers' but would attempt to 'help these younger and less traditional American writers' by giving 'them a field which they may share with older or more traditional workers.'[60] This, wrote Thayer and Watson, would allow a comparison that could 'determine whether or not they are attaining in their work the essentials that underlie the mere surface trend'.[61] This is clear in, for instance, the July 1922 issue with William Butler Yeats and Arthur Schnitzler alongside Mina Loy, Eliot, Stevens and criticism from Cowley.[62] As Nicholas Joost points out, Thayer and Watson's guide for their managing editors suggests that they 'considered their most impressive trio of contributors' to be from their more established cohort: Anatole France, George Santayana (whom Thayer met at Harvard) and William Butler Yeats.[63] In practice, Thayer and Watson's 'younger' contributors were already fairly well established among smaller circulation magazines—a point made in a 1927 article in *The New Republic* titled 'The Decline of *The Dial*' which lamented its lack of attention to emerging writers.[64] Crane, for instance, had twenty-seven publications by the time he first appeared in *The Dial* in 1920 with 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', while H. D.'s first appearance in the November 1920 issue was her 51st periodical publication. Eliot's first *Dial* publication, 'The Possibility of a Poetic Drama', was his 117th periodical publication.[65] *The Dial* was not, in general, offering space to entirely 'unknown' writers.

This editorial principle was particularly clear when it came to contributions from European writers, with Thayer and Watson declaring their 'preference' to include the work of 'somewhat older' Europeans because they could not 'help' the reputations of 'unknown

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[59] Thayer and Watson, 'Statement of Intent', box 9, folder 309, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven). For a full discussion of *The Dial*'s editing principles see Joost, *Scofield Thayer and "The Dial"* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), pp. 43-73.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Frontispiece, *The Dial*, 73. 1 (July 1922).
[63] Joost, *Thayer and "The Dial"*, p. 53.
[64] *The New Republic* editorial as quoted in Joost, *Thayer and The Dial*, 250-51.
[65] Both figures include prose, reviews, poetry and articles. Eliot, 'The Possibility of a Poetic Drama', *The Dial*, 69.5 (November 1920), pp. 441-447, see Donald Gallup, *T.S. Eliot: A Bibliography* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), pp. 195-207; Michael Boughn, *H. D.: A Bibliography, 1905-1990* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1993), pp. 95-109.

French poets', while they could further the careers of 'unknown American poets'.[66] *The Dial* mostly ignored the experiments of the European Dada movements and their American counterparts, even while Thayer was based in Vienna between July 1921 and October 1923.[67] Thayer secured contributions in translation from an older generation of writers in German, including Arthur Schnitzler, Hermann Hesse, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Thomas Mann.[68] There were few exceptions, although the journal did publish Jean Cocteau's 'The Cock and Harlequin' in the January 1921 number, and Aragon's 'Madame à sa Tour Monte' in June 1922, as well as two anonymous 'Briefer Mentions' from Aragon in French in 1920: a review of Guillaume Apollinaire's *La Femme Assise*, and of Breton and Soupault's *Les Champs Magnétiques* in 1920, which (revealingly printed with orthographic mistakes) praised how 'Le téléphone, le phonographe transmettant la parole, mais la machine à faire-les-poèmes crée mécaniquement la pensée' ('The telephone, the phonograph are transmitting the word, but the poem-making machine is mechanically creating the thinking').[69] Tellingly, one of *The Dial*'s few direct references to Dada was in Paul Morand's September 1924 'epitaph', marking the publication of *Le Manifeste du Surréalisme: Poisson Soluble*, in his Paris Letter, translated by Kenneth Burke.[70]

Crane understood the 'safe' attitude of *The Dial* from within his particular background, publishing alongside Breton, Soupault, Aragon, Eluard and Tzara in *Broom* and *Secession*. Crane's assessment was that *The Dial* tended to publish only 'the older generation of Germans, etc.,' whom he felt:

> have absolutely nothing to give us but a certain ante-bellum 'refinement.' They aren't printing the younger crowd of any country. All this should convince you, as well as myself, of the real place and necessity of *Secession*. Of course I'm sorry now that I fooled around sending 'F and H' anywhere else at all. *Dial* had a chance at that too, you know.[71]

Cummings's decision to send his poems that were most associated with Dadaist forms of expression to (before their closure) *Broom* and *Secession* over *The Dial* underlines these

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[66] Thayer and Watson, 'Statement of Intent', box 9, folder 309, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[67] Dempsey, *Thayer,* pp. 101-2; Guide to the *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[68] Ibid., pp. 101-2.
[69] Cocteau's drawings appeared on two occasions, but his prose only appeared once, with 'Cock and Harlequin', musical criticism, in *The Dial*, 71.1 (January 1921), pp. 52-62; Aragon, 'Madame a sa Tour Monte…' *The Dial*, 72.1 (January 1922), pp. 20-28; Aragon, 'Briefer Mention: *La Femme Assie',* review of Guillaume Apollinaire, *La Femme Assie* (1920), *The Dial*, 69.4 (November 1920), p. 549; Aragon, 'rev. *Les Champs Magnétiques'*, review of Breton and Soupault, *Les Champs Magnétiques* (1920), ibid., p. 549 (trans. by Verena Wittwer Schmid).
[70] Selzer, *Kenneth Burke in Greenwich Village,* p. 126; Paul Morand, 'Paris Letter', *The Dial*, 78.3 (September 1924), pp. 239-43.
[71] Crane to Tate, 15 February 1923, *Letters*, p. 124. Parenthesis close removed at 'All' for clarity; Crane's copy of Munson's, '*Secession* Announcement', box 1, folder 21, Crane Papers (Kent).

distinctions.[72] This, as Crane also points out, demarcates *The Dial* from *Secession*, *Broom*, *S4N*, and *1924*, but does not necessarily align *The Dial* with more mainstream journals, as has been frequently suggested in histories of the magazine.[73] To put this in perspective: an 'obituary' in *Time* from 1 June, 1929 points to *The Dial*'s position in the literary field, noting its 'esoteric odds and ends' and its tendency to 'give a chance to rare or unknown authors'.[74] Crane's sense that *The Dial* was 'safe' was also the result of its caution when it came to the censors; the less circumspect *Broom*, for instance, was supressed by the U.S. post office.[75] Thayer and Watson did, however, print a piece by John S. Sumner, head of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, with an insert at the last page of an erotic drawing of a 'voluptuous' nude by Gaston Lachaise.[76] *The Dial*, given the interest of the Society in its activities, had to be generally careful with its contents after the Society had prosecuted *The Little Review* over their publication of parts of *Ulysses*. Thayer had attended the trial, and was cautious in his editing of the journal, requesting edits from a Waldo Frank story where 'the sex is too thick'.[77] This practical issue, which was less of a concern for Crane's smaller publishers, may have prompted Crane's uncharitable claim that its tastes were prudish.[78]

Thayer and Watson's reasons for ruling out 'unknown French poets' did not explain their neglect of the U.S. writers responding to European experiments. This was, for Crane, illustrated by their rejection of 'Faustus' and, their acceptance of poetry such as 'a silly thing as that Apleton [sic] or what's'r'name woman contained this month on its covers'.[79] Crane was commenting on Pearl Andelson, a regular contributor to *Poetry*, whose poem 'Excursion' possibly irritated him on account of its similarity to the conservative, but quasi-Imagistic, poetry that appeared in *The Pagan* (and, even, that Crane was writing in the late 1910s), but may have appealed to *The Dial* and *Poetry* editors for its regional details, such as the 'Gay cottages, bloom on hillsides | Of sand near Tamarack.'[80]

In her *Paris Review* interview, Donald Hall asked Moore to comment on Louise Bogan's assertion that *The Dial* highlighted 'the obvious distinction between the American

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[72] Dickran Tashjian, *Skyscraper Primitives*, p. 172.
[73] See: Christina Briztolakis, 'Making Modernism Safe for Democracy: *The Dial*', *Modernist Magazines*, II, pp. 85-103; Golding, 'The Dialogics of Modernism', pp. 42-55; Rainey's comparisons of *The Dial* with *Vanity Fair:* Revisiting *"The Waste Land"*, p. 90.
[74] Unsigned, *Time*, 1 June 1929, in box 9, folder 306, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[75] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 195.
[76] Sumner was responding to Ernest Boyd's piece on 'literary lynchings', 'Adult or Infantile Censorship?', *The Dial*, 68.4 (April 1920), p. 381. See Dempsey, *Scofield Thayer*, p. 71.
[77] Dempsey, ibid.
[78] This was a common complaint for Crane about *Poetry*, and he tended to blame the 'prudishness' of both journals on their female editors. He referred to Moore as 'the Rt Rev. Miss Mountjoy', and Monroe as 'Aunt Harriet', Crane to Tate, 24 February 1927, *O My Land*, p. 318.
[79] Crane to Wiegand, 20 January 1923, *Letters*, p. 117.
[80] See Chapter I, p. 22; Pearl Andelson, 'Excursion', *The Dial*, 74.2 (February 1923), p. 152.

avant-garde and American conventional writing.'[81] Bogan was, it seems, referring to Watson and Thayer's principle, declared in their founding documents and in editorials, that *The Dial* would offer space to 'inevitable' and 'impossible pieces' that 'would not be acceptable elsewhere' in 'the interest of completeness', and their belief that more established writers should share space with their younger counterparts.[82] Thayer wrote that he wished to court 'comments' from critics for both 'the rebuke that "you are printing things no other magazine would print" as well as the words of praise that "you are bringing into the light work any publication would be proud of."'[83] In practice, Thayer and Watson wrote, this meant printing 'highly significant, imaginative work by such a poet as Ezra Pound side by side' with 'a poet like Edwin Arlington Robinson'. [84] Integrating experimental work alongside established writers would lend *The Dial* prestige as 'surely the public must feel that if an editor cares for and comprehends Yeats and Conrad he cannot be wholly in the air when championing the younger men.'[85] Bogan's point was a comment on Thayer and Watson's principle of publishing different generations alongside each other. Bogan seems to suggest that it was this combination that led to *The Dial*'s reputation as a 'more mainstream' journal.

To consider *The Dial* mainstream, however, is to take a very broad view of 'conventional writing' as anything that is not explicitly 'avant-garde' in the theoretical, rather than historically determined sense, and rests on retrospective claims based on the fact that now-canonical poets were published in the journal. This arrangement of 'younger' and 'more established' writers alongside each other may well have made its experiments more 'palatable' to its readers, but are not sufficient in themselves to show that *The Dial* had a considerable hand in the canonisation of these specific works, or, indeed, that '*The Dial* helped to canonise what *The Little Review* helped to discover.'[86] This, coupled with retrospective assessments of the later reputations of 'outlier' contributions, such as *The Waste Land*, *The Cantos*, and even *The Bridge*, seems to have led to assessments of *The Dial* as so 'mainstream' that it could be 'acutely conscious of its competition with *Vanity Fair*'.[87] *The Dial* had a fluctuating circulation, but it stood at around 9,500 in 1922, while *Vanity*

[81] Moore, 'The Art of Poetry No. 4', interview by Donald Hall, *The Paris Review*, 26 (Summer-Fall 1961), pp. 41-66 (p. 58)
[82] Thayer, 'Comment', *The Dial*, 68.3 (March 1920), p. 408.
[83] Thayer, ibid.
[84] Thayer and Watson, 'Statement of Intent', box 9, folder 309, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[84] Thayer and Watson, ibid.
[85] Thayer and Watson, ibid.
[86] Christina Britztolakis, 'Making Modernism Safe for Democracy: *The Dial*', *Oxford Modernist Magazines II,* pp. 85-103 (p. 86); Golding, quoting Michael True, 'Dialogics of Modernism', p. 46.
[87] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, pp. 96, 98.

Fair had 96,500, and while Thayer may have been nervous about *Vanity Fair* poaching *The Dial*'s contributors, it seems unlikely that he considered the journal as direct competition.[88]

Crane's opinion of *The Dial* is revealing of its position in relation to other journals in that he found the magazine 'safe' because it was not printing the experiments of the 'younger crowd' of Europeans, or the U.S. writers working with these ideas. It is this preference for integrating the work of 'younger' and more established writers that seems to have lent *The Dial* this curious reputation as a 'mediator between the avant-garde and the general reader', or an 'impartial arbiter of aesthetic excellence'.[89] The careers of *The Dial* poets were not static over the decade; poetic styles that may have seemed risky or experimental to the editors in the early 1920s, as demonstrated by Thayer's worries over publishing *The Waste Land*, seemed, by the end of *The Dial*'s run, to have become more standard fare for the magazine.[90]

A May 1923 letter from Cowley to Thayer, who frequently contributed reviews, but rarely poetry, is revealing on this point. Cowley was then on the verge of leaving *Secession,* planning to edit *Broom* with Josephson in New York in six months' time*,* and he wrote to Thayer for 'advice' for his smaller-readership, avant-garde journal. While Cowley's praise of *The Dial* needs to be treated with an amount of scepticism, given that he was attempting to secure feedback on the 'experimental critical work' he had published in *The Dial*, his comments help to clarify Crane's reasons for finding the journal 'safe':

> After three years of the new *Dial* it seems hard to imagine a world in which the *Dial* did not exist. It is the rock of American literature, on which schools, movements and other magazines are founded. It has been called conservative, and that is perhaps its greatest triumph. Imagine anybody's calling it conservative three years ago. The public which could call the *Dial* conservative was formed by reading the *Dial*.[91]

Cowley's main point is that *The Dial*'s position has changed only because literary tastes had also shifted, as had the aesthetic preferences of some of its contributors. This entailed a formal shift, as in Cowley and Crane's group in the 'exile' journals who were experimenting with the forms of European avant-gardes. As Crane's case usefully demonstrates, while *The Dial* no doubt had different tastes to *Secession*, *Broom*, and *1924*, journals that were more hospitable towards his work, it can only be considered 'more mainstream' in relation to the smaller, programmatic, avant-garde journals, as shown through its treatment of the work that was developed within these literary circles, such as the experimental poetry Crane

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[88] See footnote 49 (Chapter III); Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, pp. 96-98.
[89] Moore's editing of Crane, to take just one example, certainly undermines this claim of 'impartiality'. Britzolakis, 'Making Modernism Safe', p. 93.
[90] See Rainey's account of *The Dial*'s negotiations with Pound and Eliot for the publication of *The Waste Land*, Revisiting *"The Waste Land",* pp. 71-101.
[91] Cowley to Thayer, 10 May 1923, box 2, folder 42, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

began writing through his engagement with these magazines, or Cowley's inability to get his poetry published in *The Dial*.[92]

b. 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', 'Pastorale' and 'Praise for an Urn'

Shortly before leaving for Vienna in April 1921, Thayer installed Gilbert Seldes as his managing editor. Seldes remained in this post until January 1923, when Alyse Gregory replaced him, until 1925, when Moore was appointed. Moore was first managing editor, then declared full editor on the masthead in January 1927, when Thayer's resignation was announced. But, as Marek points out, Moore had considerable control over the editing of the journal from 1925.[93] Given that Thayer was still closely involved with the editing of *The Dial* even from Europe, it is difficult to ascertain whether Crane's successive rejections during this period were also related to Thayer's departure.[94]

While Seldes and Gregory were managing editors, Crane's poetry was repeatedly rejected by *The Dial* between June 1922 and May 1926. Rejections from Seldes became so predictable that Crane goaded him with a joke poem, 'Low Hung Whang', in November 1924, adding that he 'awaited his comment'.[95] Seldes did, however, commission Crane to write two 'Briefer Mentions' after Crane urged him to: 'provide me with sundry other pastime subjects while winter is icummin [sic] in and we ring the axe? I need these occasional bucks badly, the woods aren't half full of them.'[96] On the 19 March 1924 Gregory openly told Crane of the scepticism of *The Dial*'s 'various editorial hands' (likely Watson and Burke) towards his most recent submissions: 'Recitative', 'Belle Isle', 'Possessions', 'In a Court', 'Lachrimae Christi' and 'Sunday Morning Apples'.[97] On returning the poems, Gregory commented that although 'We liked certain things very much', the editors felt that 'we find lines that seem to us unnecessarily obscure.'[98] Of these poems, all but 'In a Court', which remained unpublished, were collected in *White Buildings*

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[92] Crane's uneasy position in *The Dial,* given the canonical status now afforded to the journal, may have contributed to his reputation as something of a literary 'outsider'. See, among others, D. Gabriel, *Hart Crane and the Modernist Epic: Canon and Genre Formation in Crane, Pound, Eliot and Williams* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), p. 26.

[93] Joost, *Thayer and "The Dial"*, pp. 94-95; Dempsey, *Thayer*, p. 169.

[94] As Thayer told Seldes: 'I insist on seeing the proofs and OK-ing them before the pamphlet is sent to press… I will cable you my OK provided I accept what you submit', Joost, *Thayer and "The Dial"*, pp. 44-5.

[95] Crane to Seldes, 21 November 1923, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

[96] Crane to Seldes, Ibid., Moore does also note in *The Paris Review* interview that Thayer and Watson felt Crane 'couldn't fit himself into an IBM position to find a livelihood' and the editors felt 'we ought to, whenever we could, take anything he sent us.' Moore, 'The Art of Poetry', p. 62.

[97] Crane to Gregory, 12 March 1924, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

[98] Crane to Gregory, 12 March 1924; Gregory to Crane, 18 March 1924, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

and are characterised by Crane's use of his newly developed associative mode, in contrast to his appearances in 1920-1922. Gregory and Seldes also rejected 'Faustus' and 'Poster' ('Voyages I'), Crane's first sustained experiments with the 'logic'.[99] These rejected poems were accepted by smaller circulation, more experimental journals: 'Recitative' and 'Possessions' were published together in *The Little Review,* 'Sunday Morning Apples' in *1924*, 'Lachrimae Christi' in *The Fugitive*, 'Faustus' in *Broom* and *Secession*, and 'Poster' also in Munson's journal.[100] These rejections came, significantly, after Crane's initial success between April 1920 and June 1922 with the more simply constructed poems drawing on a different set of influences: 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' (inspired, Crane told Munson, by lines from Charles Vildrac), 'Pastorale', and 'Praise for an Urn'.[101] While these three poems are not quite as pared down as Crane's experiments in Imagism in *The Pagan*, all three show a similar restraint in their use of metaphor, particularly in contrast to the group of poems that he sent to Gregory, or 'Faustus', rejected by *The Dial* in November 1922.[102]

'My Grandmother's Love Letters', in the April 1920 number, by contrast, opens simply, and immediately addresses the principal concern of the poem, 'memory':

> There are no stars to-night
> But those of memory.
> Yet how much room for memory there is
> In the loose girdle of soft rain.[103]

Crane opens with a straightforward description of the cloudy night sky—and 'cloud' is reinforced with 'rain', later. There is a glimpse of Crane's associative mode in 'the loose girdle of soft rain', where Crane uses 'girdle' to mean 'that which surrounds', and so, the 'rain' encroaches on all fronts.[104] Elsewhere Crane even spells out the familial relationship described, and is unusually straightforward in his descriptions of the letters in question:

> There is even room enough
> For the letters of my mother's mother,
> Elizabeth,
> That have been pressed so long
> Into a corner of the roof

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[99] See Chapter II, pp. 67-96, for a discussion of the development of the 'logic' in these poems.
[100] Crane, 'Possessions', 'Recitative', *The Little Review*, 10.1 (Spring 1924), pp. 18-19; 'Sunday Morning Apples', *1924*, 1.1 (July 1924), p. 1; 'Lachrymae Christi', *The Fugitive,* 4.4 (December 1925), pp. 102-03.
[101] Weber, *Hart* Crane, p. 56; Crane, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', p. 457; 'Pastorale', p. 71, l. 4; 'Praise for an Urn: To E.N', p. 606.
[102] Crane to Munson, 7 November 1922, *Letters*, pp. 103-04 (p. 103).
[103] Crane, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', p. 457, ll. 1-4. The only difference to the *White Buildings* text is the hyphenated 'to-night' in *The Dial* version.
[104] 'girdle', *OED Online.*
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/78467?rskey=MFEAi7&result=1&isAdvanced=false>acessed 28.10.16.

That they are brown and soft,

And liable to melt as snow.[105]

As well as the relative 'restraint' and simplicity of 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', the poem shows a different set of influences from the 'previous generation' of French poets to 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', again, as with 'The Wine Menagerie', showing how shifts in Crane's poetry highlighted *The Dial*'s own ideas about modernist poetry's relationship to the literary past and acceptable demonstrations of influence. Crane's attention to the 'previous generation' is predominantly restricted to formal properties in this earlier poem, rather than Crane's dwelling on Baudelaire's 'wine' poems in *Les Fleurs du Mal*.[106] Crane had been translating a piece from Charles Vildrac for *The Double Dealer* in 1921 (never published) and, although he was unspecific about the exact nature of Vildrac's influence on 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' in his letters, he may have had Vildrac's concept of the 'rhythmic constant' in mind.[107] Vildrac, at least in Anglophone poetic circles, was very much associated with the Imagists and vers libre, and Crane most likely encountered Vildrac through F. S Flint or, then *Dial* foreign editor, Pound, who refers to Vildrac's 'Technique Poétique' in his advice on 'Rhythm and Rhyme' in 'A Few Don'ts From an Imagiste'.[108] The carefully assembled scansion of 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' may have appealed to *The Dial*'s editors, given their general attention to older generations of French poets, and it seems significant that Crane's poem appeared in the same number as Witter Bynner's translations of Vildrac's 'An Inn' and 'A Castle in Spain'.[109] The delicate homage to this Symbolist poet in 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' was, apparently, preferable to 'The Wine Menagerie', which self-consciously turns the influence of Baudelaire into pastiche. In 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', Crane appears to utilise Vildrac's technique of a repeated pattern of rhythmic syllables which are based around the pattern made by 'Elizabeth' (˘ ¯ ˘ ˘) the first name of his grandmother, Elizabeth Belden Hart. And so, Crane repeats these stresses inside the lines, often further contained in phrases, with, first, 'no stars tonight', then later, making the pattern clear, we get 'Elizabeth' on a single line, then, at every four lines, 'and liable', 'it trembles as' and 'is the silence'.[110]

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[105] Crane, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', pp. 12-15.

[106] Charles Baudelaire, 'Wine/Le Vin', *Les Fleurs du mal,* trans. by James N. McGowan (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 2008), pp. 215-26.

[107] Crane to Munson, 14 April 1920, *Letters*, pp. 37-38 (p. 37).

[108] Crane to Munson, 22 July 1921, *Letters*, pp. 37-38 (p. 38); Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 205. For an explanation of the 'rhythmic constant' and Pound's use of the form in 'The Return' see: David E. Chinitz, Gail McDonald's 'Introduction' to *A Companion to Modernist Poetry* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), pp. 10-11. Pound was foreign editor at *The Dial* from 1920 to 1923.

[109] Witter Bynner, 'Poems and Translations', translation of Charles Vildrac, 'An Inn' and 'A Castle in Spain', *The Dial*, 68.4 (April 1920), pp. 473-478. Bynner produced a volume of translations from Vildrac, *A Book of Love* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923).

[110] Crane, 'My Grandmother's Love Letters', p. 457, ll. 1, 7, 11, 15, 19.

This seems to dictate the unusually (for Crane) short lines of the first four stanzas, and the stand-alone line with its interruption ('and I ask myself') and movement from the clarity that seems instilled in him by his grandmother's 'memories', like 'birch limbs webbing the air', and shifts to the mixed scansion on the final two stanzas, with their longer lines.[111] The same rhythmic pattern still breaks through with 'grandmother' (appropriately), and 'pitying'. 'Pitying' sees Crane admonishing himself in her voice. Presumably, here Crane is imagining her reaction to his homosexuality: 'what she would not understand'.[112] Crane commonly used masks to articulate his cruellest interpretations of his own sexual anxiety, as in the mocking smiles of 'The Wine Menagerie', and here, where he construes his conflicted views as self-pitying. This is reflected in his slip into a broken iambic pentameter: 'And so I stumble. And the rain'.[113]

Crane's elegy for his friend Ernest Nelson (discretely named with initials, 'E. N' in *The Dial* version), 'Praise for an Urn', which the editors liked so much they used it in their clipsheet for the number,[114] is restrained in its metaphors, and calls upon the elegiac tradition not only in its title, but in its conventional elegist's apology in the final lines:

> Scatter these well meant idioms
> Into the smoky spring that fills
> The suburbs, where they will be lost.
> They are no trophies of the sun.[115]

Given *The Dial*'s interest in publishing both more 'traditional forms' and 'experiments', Crane's conventional, lyrical, elegy was a good fit for the journal, with his mention of 'suburbs' the only nod Crane gives to his burgeoning interest in the city as a poetic subject.

'Pastorale', published in October 1921, displays an unusual formal restraint, but contains a dense use of metaphor absent from 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' (which focuses more on the contrast between its rhythmic patterns and pared down descriptions) and even 'Praise for an Urn' which lingers on Crane's own sense of his failure to construct an appropriate 'trophy' for Nelson.[116] In 'Pastorale' Crane is, as in both 'My Grandmother's Love Letters' and 'Praise for an Urn', preoccupied with memory, but here he uses complex metaphors to describe its effects. As in 'The Wine Menagerie', where 'time' is split into declensions and 'unskeins', here recollections break into 'smoky panels':

> No more violets,

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[111] Ibid., ll. 14-15.
[112] Ibid., l. 24.
[113] Ibid., ll. 25-26.
[114] Joost, "*The Dial", Two Author Indexes*, p. 15.
[115] Crane, 'Praise for an Urn: To E.N.', *The Dial*, 72.6 (June 1922), p. 606.
[116] Crane may have borrowed the title from Stravinksy's 1907 piece with the same name. See p. 127 on 'The Wine Menagerie' and Stravinsky.

And the year
Broken into smoky panels.
What woods remember now
Her calls, her enthusiasms.[117]

In the third stanza Crane comments on his own attempts at restraint. 'If, dusty, I bear | An image beyond this', Crane writes, but he still withholds, 'Already a fallen harvest', and admonishes, 'Fool'.[118] These poems, well received at *The Dial*, illustrate Crane's movement away from the imitative poetry of the late 1910s in *The Pagan* and *Bruno*'s, but still have (as Taggard noted in her review of *White Buildings*), some of the 'Imagisti[c'] qualities of these early experiments; he has not quite established the complex structural patterns and ideas—or even the confidence ('If […] I bear | An image')—that were introduced through his experiments with the 'logic of metaphor' and his experiments with 'machine age' details through his reading of *Secession*, *Broom*, and *1924*.

These shifts can also be detected in Crane's 'Briefer Mentions'; both reviews, in their criticisms and praise of other works, are revealing of his ideas about his own poetry. In his review of Wilson's *The Grand Tour*, for instance, Crane praises the 'piling up constantly to the end' of her 'etchings, moods and anecdotes', while the Romantic flights ('this Elysian wind that sets my nerves quivering like an Aeolian harp', 'I soar up into the blue sky') that pattern *The Grand Tour* may have appealed to Crane as he continued with work on *The Bridge*.[119] Crane's antipathy to the work published in Thomas Moult's *Best Poems of 1922* (one in an anthology series), is revealing.[120] The anthology contained 'broadly accessible poetry', with mainly contributions from the Georgians, but complemented by appearances from Richard Aldington, Carl Sandburg, H. D., Amy Lowell, Louis Untermeyer and Alfred Kreymborg.[121] Significantly, particularly given Crane's scathing review, Moult notes the magazine source of each poem, with the majority of the American work coming from *Poetry* and *The Dial*.[122] Crane found Moult's selections conservative, noting that the anthology would only 'confuse or destroy what incipient taste for contemporary poetry its more occasional readers may be nursing'. He was also irritated by its lack of distinctions between the American and British poets included, giving 'no guide to

[117] Crane, 'Pastorale', *The Dial*, 71.4 (October 1921), p. 422, ll. 1-5.
[118] Crane, 'Pastorale', ll. 11-17; Crane paints himself as a similar 'fool' playing with complex ideas in 'The Wine Menagerie' as 'whispers' surround him and he 'pivots' pointlessly in the final line. Crane 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete*, pp. 23-24, ll. 47, 49.
[119] Crane, '*The Grand Tour*', p. 198.
[120] Romer Wilson, *The Grand Tour* (London: Methuen and Co, 1923), p. 21; Crane, '*The Best Poems of 1922*', p. 200.
[121] Mark S. Morrison, 'The Cause of Poetry', *Modernist Magazines*, I, pp. 407-9.
[122] *The Best Poems of 1922*, ed. by Thomas Moult (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1969), pp. vii-xiii.

their nationality except what is revealed by the work itself'.[123] This was related to his interest in national and regional literature, as discussed in relation to *1924* and *S4N* in Chapter II. Crane, then, found an affinity at *1924* with this dual interest in a distinctly American mode that yet made use of (but was not imitative of) contemporary European avant-gardes. *The Dial*, by contrast, seems to have been less sympathetic to his mixing of national and contemporary European influences. *The Dial* and *Poetry* seemed to have a stricter sense of how to deal with this idea of American 'cultural humility' and seemed to view the dual modes of Crane and other 'exile' contributors as incompatible. Monroe, for instance, complained of writers utilising European models as the 'New York sophisticates' that were 'so near to Europe and so far from America!'[124]

Burke's comments on Crane's submission of 'Recitative' are revealing of Crane's evolving poetry and changes to his reception at *The Dial*: 'You have set yourself a record of greater volume (notably the stanza at the top of page three) with which the pedantic Wrigley daily-dozens do not fit.'[125] By 'volume' Burke is referring to the density of the stanza. The verse in question reads:

> Regard the capture here, O Janus-faced,
> As double as the hands that twist this glass.
> Such eyes at search or rest you cannot see;
> Reciting pain or glee, how can you bear![126]

If *The Dial* was interested in Crane's experiments with Vildrac's ideas for vers libre, it was less sympathetic to his surrealist informed 'logic', as this letter suggests. Burke's comment on the other editors' dislike of the stanza is revealing, given its associatively constructed image of 'Janus' manoeuvring a mirror to 'twist' around his 'double' face, which is, then, used allegorically for this unbearable self-loathing Crane presents here ('how can you bear!'). Moore's edit of 'Again', in this light, is useful not only in revealing the personal tastes that motivated the edit, but the wider attitude of *The Dial* towards the new direction that Crane's poetry had taken.

ii. *The Dial:* Hart Crane and Marianne Moore

a. 'The connection between criticism and creation': Moore's editing principles

In her interview with Donald Hall in *The Paris Review*, Moore discussed her infamous edit of 'The Wine Menagerie', and her opinion of Crane's poetry in general.[127] Pinning down

[123] Crane, 'Briefer Mention: Thomas Moult', p. 200.
[124] Monroe, 'Why Not Laugh?', p. 209.
[125] Burke to Crane, 14 July 1927, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[126] Crane, 'Recitative', *Complete*, p. 25, ll. 1-4.

Moore's own critical and creative principles—so intertwined in her own work—helps to explain the misreadings of Crane that led to the 'Again' edit, and her habit of suggesting 'improvements' to other *Dial* contributors, including Gertrude Stein, Archibald MacLeish, and Conrad Aiken.[128] Moore's edit, through its misreading of 'The Wine Menagerie', highlights the distinct poetic qualities Crane developed in the early 1920s. Revealing perhaps more about her own poetic process than that of Crane's poem, she complained to Hall that he was unable to self-edit, 'to be hard on himself', something she found rooted in a lack of discipline that she linked to his homosexuality and alcoholism. Alluding to his 'wild parties', she added that he was 'in both instances under a disability with which I was unfamiliar.'[129] 'The Wine Menagerie' uses a narrator as a cipher for Crane and was written over raucous fourth of July celebrations with Malcolm and Peggy Cowley in 1925, and recounts Crane's heavy drinking (he had, as he told Frank later, been reading *Les Paradis Artificiels*),[130] and makes coded references to his homosexuality. The poem went against Moore's 'strong opinions about order, decorum, and duty' that 'provide a moral thread traceable through the pattern of her work', as Jayne Marek puts it, referring to how Moore's Presbyterian faith influenced her poetry.[131] Moore's edit was not, though, simply an attempt to censor the aspects of the poem that she may have found unpalatable. While she does cut all references to the bar in which 'The Wine Menagerie' was originally set, her main issue, as her edits attest, was with Crane's use of an associative, dense metaphorical form which she saw as linked to this lack of discipline. For Moore, Crane's inability to exercise restraint and self-edit resulted in his use of 'multiform content' (his associative 'logic of metaphor') with a corresponding 'lack of simplicity and cumulative force'.[132]

Moore outlined the extent to which she considered editing and criticism to be central to her poetic practice in her review of *The Sacred Wood* for *The Dial*:

> […] in what it reveals as a definition of criticism it is especially rich. The connection between criticism and creation is close; criticism naturally deals with creation but it is equally true that criticism inspires creation. A genuine achievement in criticism is an achievement in creation; as Mr Eliot says, 'It is to be expected that the critic and the creative artist should frequently be the same person.'[133]

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[127] Moore, 'The Art of Poetry', pp. 59-60.
[128] Bonnie Costello, 'Editing *The Dial*', in Moore, *Selected Letters*, p. 213.
[129] Moore, 'The Art of Poetry', p. 60.
[130] Crane refers directly to *Les Paradis Artificiels* by its subtitle, 'Petits Poëmes en Prose', in a letter to Frank, 19 August 1926, *OML*, pp. 269-272 (p. 271); Mariani, *The Broken Tower*, p. 180.
[131] Marek, *Women Editing Modernism*, p. 139.
[132] Moore to Crane, 13 August 1925, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[133] Moore, '*The Sacred Wood*', review of T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood* (1920), *The Dial*, 70.3 (March 1921), pp. 336-39, (p. 336).

Even in her first publications in Bryn Mawr's *Tipyn o'Bob*, where she was also on the editorial board, Moore demonstrated a preoccupation with this 'connection between criticism and creation'. Although ostensibly fiction, a number of these stories reflect on her own developing writing practices and critical principles.[134]

'The Discouraged Poet' (1907) and 'Pym' (1908) both self-consciously narrate the artistic development of young writers through their fractious relationships with mentor figures. These stories can be interpreted as Moore tussling with her own literary influences—or, 'guardians' and 'famous bard[s]' as she puts it in 'The Discouraged Poet'. In this same story she has her 'young poet' recite three lines, and then, as he approaches the 'forbidding door' of his literary 'guardian' he finds them 'bad', and self-editing when faced with the comparison of himself with a writer he admires, he discards them, 'crushing the paper in his hands'.[135] In 'Pym', Moore's next short story in *Tipyn o'Bob,* she is more explicit. 'Pym' follows the diary entries of another young writer and her interactions with another mentor or teacher. The diary entries record both her personal relationships, but, through her conversations with her mentor, gradually begin to include critical statements by the student on her own work. The student starts to outline her need for precision, noting in her diary the necessity to 'say things to the point', that good writing should be '*toil*' [Moore's italics], and commenting on her suspicion of artifice, 'Nothing done for effect, is worth the cost', most likely a comment made in opposition to the previous generation of Decadent poetry.[136] Later, and despite Moore's dubious claims not to have been influenced by the Imagists, these preferences would align her, at least superficially, with Pound's requests in 'A Retrospect' and 'A Few Don'ts From an Imagiste' for 'the direct treatment of the thing' and to 'use no superfluous word'.[137]

Moore's later poetry, including works published in *The Dial*, shows a similar introspection, with the use of collage forms and allusive fragments from her own criticism to articulate these ideas. 'Picking and Choosing' (where her attention to the collage form is flagged in the title) appeared in *The Dial* in April 1920, in the same number as 'My Grandmother's Love Letters'. 'Picking and Choosing' [shown here as it appeared in *The Dial*] shows, as she later stated clearly when reviewing Eliot, her attempts to integrate her critical and creative impulses:

> Literature is a phase of life: if
>
> one is afraid of it, the situation is irredeemable; if

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[134] See Moore, 'The Discouraged Poet', *The Complete Prose of Marianne Moore*, ed. by Patricia C. Willis (Faber & Faber, London, 1987), pp. 8-9; Pym', *Prose*, pp. 12-16.
[135] Moore, 'The Discouraged Poet', *Prose*, p. 8.
[136] 'Pym', *Prose*, pp. 12-16 (pp. 14, 16).
[137] Moore, 'The Art of Poetry', p. 50; 'Pym', *Prose*, pp. 12-16 (pp. 14, 16).

one approaches it familiarly,
        what one says of it is worthless. Words are constructive
when they are true; the opaque allusion—the simulated flight

upward—accomplishes nothing. Why cloud the fact
        that Shaw is self-conscious in the field of sentiment but is
                otherwise re-
warding? that James is all that has been
        said of him, if *feeling* is profound? It is not Hardy
the distinguished novelist and Hardy the poet, but one man […]

'interpreting life through the medium of the
        emotions.' […][138]

The poem works as creative criticism. The overhang of the line beginning 'upward—accomplishes nothing', introduces her comment on her own poetry and her dislike of, as she put it in *The Egoist*, anything with the 'tincture of artificiality', deliberately intruding on this stanza concerned with Shaw, James, and Hardy and, so, emphasises this 'close […] connection between criticism and creation'.[139] Shaw, James, and Hardy were frequent subjects for Moore in her critical prose. Moore takes quotations from her own *New York Times* review of Robert Lynd's *Old and New Masters in Literature* from October 1919 and incorporates them into the poem, showing the intertwined design of her critical and poetic practices. In her review Moore writes that:

> To apply Hudson's definition of a poet, Hardy is an 'interpreter of life through the medium of emotions'; the verse is, if you like, a variation on the prose; superfluous if one does not care for the prose, indispensable if one does.[140]

This quotation works as another reflective statement on allusion and the allusive fragment. Here, the 'allusion' serves a clear purpose: in going back to the prose (the allusive fragment here is intended to refer to the whole paragraph of the article) she invites this comparison between Hardy's 'verse' as a 'variation on the prose' with her own, by physically inserting sections of her prose commentary into the poem (assuming, from the dates, that the review came first) and so the poem must refer back to the prose for explication; this is not a 'simulated flight', 'accomplish[ing] nothing'. This, through her assemblage of fragments of her own review, shows the centrality of self-editing, of 'Picking and Choosing' from one's own work, to Moore's creative and critical practices.

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[138] Moore, 'Picking and Choosing', *The Dial*, 68.4 (April 1920), pp. 421-22 (p. 421).
[139] Moore, 'The Accented Syllable', *The Egoist*, 10.3 (October 1916), pp. 151-52 (p. 152),
[140] Moore, 'Old and New Masters in Literature', *Prose,* pp. 41-43.

Moore's reviews show the transference of the critical principles that she developed in relation to her own work onto the poetry that she admired—just as she praises Eliot for a 'definition' of the critic that echoed her own. This was a criticism Crane lodged against Moore after she returned 'Passage'. Crane wrote to Frank, copying Moore's original comment:

> We could not but be moved, as you must know, by the rich imagination and sensibility in your poem, 'Passage'. Its multiform content accounts, I suppose, for what seems to us a lack of simplicity and cumulative force.[141]

Crane added that it 'seems almost as though Miss Moore might be rather speaking of her own poems with such terms.'[142] Similarly, in a review in *Contact*, Moore praised Williams for his 'vigor', his 'crisp', 'precise', 'secure', 'rooted' poetry, and his 'power of the actual' noting his work's 'compression, color, speed accuracy and that restraint of instinctive craftsmanship which precludes anything dowdy or labored.'[143] Moore highlighted similar qualities in H. D.'s volume, *Hymen,* in a review published in *Broom* in January 1923, the same number as 'Faustus'.[144] Apparently recalling Pound's famous paragraph from 'A Retrospect' that 'Twentieth century poetry' will be 'harder and saner', 'nearer the bone', and 'as much like granite as it can be' with its force 'in its truth', Moore notes H. D.'s 'exacting', 'accurate observations', her 'chiselled ivory of speech', and her 'respect for the essence of a thing [that] makes expression simple' and the 'clean violence of truth' of her poetry.[145] The centrality of this symbiotic understanding of criticism and editing, and its frequent representation through collage forms, is crucial to how Moore reads, then edits, Crane. For Moore, H. D., Williams, and Eliot were 'craftsmen', while Crane was unable to self edit, to 'chisel' at his work and 'be hard on himself'. In *The Sacred Wood* review, Moore paraphrases Eliot's own essay on Jonson as she makes more general, admiring, comments on the volume. She notes how Eliot illustrates the 'case between brilliance of surface and mere superficiality.'[146] This issue of 'brilliance of surface' and 'superficiality' is the basis of criticism that she makes against Crane, finding his associative mode to be a form of decadence 'done for effect' or, as Williams claimed Moore put it, 'fake knowledge'.[147]

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[141] Moore to Crane, 13 August 1925, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[142] Crane to Frank, 19 August 1925, *OML*, pp. 204-06 (p. 205).
[143] It's worth noting here that one of Moore's criticisms of her own work in 'Pym', via her "mentor" character, is its 'femininity'. 'Pym', *Prose,* p. 13; '*Kora in Hell*', review of Williams, *Kora in Hell: Improvisations* (1920), *Contact.* 1.4 (January-March 1921), pp. 5-8 (p. 5).
[144] Moore, '*Hymen*', review of H. D., Hymen (1921), *Broom*, 4.2 (January 1923), pp. 133-35; Crane, 'Springs', pp. 131-32.
[145] Pound, 'A Retrospect', *Pavannes and Divisions* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1918), p. 107; Moore, 'rev. *Hymen'*, pp. 133-35.
[146] Moore, '*The Sacred Wood',* p. 336.
[147] Williams to Pound, commenting on Moore's views of Crane, 12 July 1928, box 55, folder 2518, Ezra Pound Papers (New Haven).

The language of these reviews forms part of Moore's critical code for 'modern poetry' as she saw it, with similar descriptions of 'exactness', 'praiseworthy opacity', 'directness', 'keen' 'compact[ness]' in later critical pieces, including in *The Dial,* both before and during her tenure as editor.[148] In contrast to the 'secure', 'rooted', 'concise' poetry she admired, Moore, as she told Watson, found Crane 'vapid' and not 'well reefed'; he was fluid, unanchored, and 'yield[ing]'.[149] This was in contrast to the critical climate of the 'exile' journals and *1924* and *S4N,* in which Crane's 'logic' had developed; as Munson put it, 'esotericism' was not to be considered 'a term of reproach, for it may be inescapable.'[150]

This idea that Crane's poetry was 'superficial', not 'accurate' or using the 'exact' word is a fundamental misreading of his associative 'logic of metaphor', and explains her attempts to rationalise 'The Wine Menagerie'—almost as though Moore was attempting to add a missing process in Crane's writing practice. Crane's interest in associative, juxtaposed metaphorical forms, inherited in part from the Symbolists, but developed further through his attention to proto-Surrealist experiments, clashed with Moore's preference for exactitude, a preference in line with Imagist practices. This underestimation of the thought behind the 'logic' might, as discussed more fully in Chapter IV, have stemmed from emphases in reviews and contributors' notes on the fact that 'his academic education was early broken off.'[151] As editor of *The Dial*, then, Moore directs the journal (following Thayer and Watson's model) in a way that made it difficult to accommodate Crane's later verse, with its complex use of form and assimilative influences (Moore cuts Crane's allusions to Baudelaire entirely) that were, perhaps, not wholly welcome at *The Dial*, in contrast to the more restrained forms of his early contributions in 1920-1922. Crane wrote that the dismissal of the 'last generation' of decadents was 'nostalgia for something always "new"'.[152] By 'nostalgia' Crane was referring to the cycle of a movement's definition in opposition to its predecessors, as in the Imagists' influential moves against 'superfluous word[s]', and 'ornament', all associated with Decadent poetry—presumably an unpopular stance at both *The Dial* and *Poetry*.[153]

Moore's concept of self-editing, famously revising 'Poetry' from thirty two to just three lines for her 1967 *Complete Poems*, may help to explain her willingness to suggest edits

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[148] See: Moore, '*Natives of Rock*', review of Glenway Westcott *Natives of Rock: Poems 1921-1922* (1925), *The Dial*, 81.1 (July 1926), pp. 69-72; 'Poet of the Quattrocento', *The Dial*, 82.3 (March 1927), pp. 213-15.
[149] Moore, '*Kora in Hell*', review of William Carlos Williams, *Kora in Hell: Improvisations* (1920), *Contact.* 1.4 (January-March 1921), pp. 5-8. (p. 5); Moore to Watson, 9 March 1927, *Selected Letters*, p. 213.
[150] Munson, 'The Esotericism of T.S. Eliot', p. 3.
[151] The editors, 'Hart Crane', *Twentieth Century Poetry*, ed. by John Drinkwater, William Rose Benét (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), p. 572. See Chapter IV, p. 203.
[152] Crane to Munson, 5 January 1923, *OML*, pp. 115-118 (p. 117).
[153] 'Pym', *Prose*, pp. 12-16 (pp. 14, 16); Pound, 'A Retrospect', p. 107.

from contributors to *The Dial*.[154] As her borrowing of 'verbal delicacies' from other sources for her poems suggest, Moore had a rather flexible notion of authorship.[155] A case in point, as Tara Stubbs has noted in 'One Title Three Works', is her 1954 play, *The Absentee.* Moore claimed that her play was a 'new dramatic version' of Maria Edgeworth's 1812 novel, despite the fact that she could only have seen Edgeworth's 'sketch' of the novel, given the manuscript did not survive.[156] As with Edgeworth's text, Moore may have felt that she was extending rather than curtailing projects through her changes. Correspondingly, Moore claimed to welcome editing suggestions for her own poems: 'if you have the genius of an editor you are blessed', she told Donald Hall, '*The Times*, *The Herald Tribune, The New Yorker*, have a number of times had to patch and piece me out.'[157]

While 'Again' is an infamous example of Moore's alterations to *Dial* contributions, perhaps because they constitute a highly critical appraisal of his poetic mode, she also asked for edits from Robert Hillyer, Archibald Macleish, Pound, Aiken, and Stein, as Bonnie Costello and Marek have pointed out.[158] For instance, Moore asked Hillyer if she could omit his last line, and if the piece would be 'irreparably impaired if the third stanza were omitted?'[159] Hillyer was compliant, even 'pleased' with Moore's edits, adding that 'I am too near this piece'.[160] In 1926 Moore, with his permission, altered the title of Archibald MacLeish's 'Nocturne in White' to 'Nocturne', and cut seventeen lines.[161] On receiving 'pages' from *A Long Gay Book*, Moore wrote to Stein in April 1927 asking if she could cut 'a portion' of four pages; Stein accepted the changes.[162] Not all contributors were so compliant. In May 1929, Moore asked to make changes to Aiken's 'You Went to the Verge', but Aiken, a regular reviewer at *The Dial*, withdrew the piece.[163]

As well as asking Crane for the changes for 'Again', on his submission of 'At Melville's Tomb' she requested that if he 'omit the fourth stanza', she would print the poem—Crane withdrew the entire poem.[164] Then, on his submission of 'The Mermen',

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[154] Moore, *The Complete Poems* (London: Faber & Faber, 1967), p. 36.
[155] Fiona Green, 'The magnitude of their root systems: "An Octopus" and National Character', *Critics and Poets on Marianne Moore,* ed. by Linda Leavell, Cristianne Miller, and Robin G. Shulze (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), pp. 137-49 (p. 137).
[156] Tara Stubbs, 'One Title, Three Works?', *Romantic Ireland from Tone to Gonne: Fresh Perspectives on Nineteenth Century Ireland*, ed. by Paddy Lyons, Willy Maley, John Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), pp. 246-253 (p. 247); Moore, *The Absentee* (New York: House of Books, 1962).
[157] Moore, 'The Art of Poetry', p. 60.
[158] Costello, 'Editing *The Dial*', *Selected Letters*, pp. 211-214; Marek, *Women Editing Modernism*, pp. 160, 197.
[159] Costello, ibid., pp. 212-214.
[160] ibid.
[161] ibid., p. 213
[162] Moore to Stein, as quoted in Marek, *Women Editing Modernism,* p. 160.
[163] Costello notes that Aiken struggled to get poetry into the journal under Moore's editorship. Costello, 'Editing *The Dial*', 213; Moore to Stein, as quoted in Marek, *Women Editing Modernism,* p. 160.
[164] Moore to Crane, 10 December 1923 and Crane to Moore, 14 December 1925, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

Moore asked him in a series of letters to alter 'the construction of the first stanza' to remove the word 'solve'.[165] After Crane responded with a typographical correction, Moore wrote to Crane, implying that his choice of words could be more exact:

> I am sorry not to have been more explicit. What we questioned is the use of the word 'solve' with the word 'why'; but 'why' is phonetically, and as meaning, stronger than 'say' or any like substitute, and the words are as so far removed from each other as not to be conspicuously related.[166]

Crane did not agree to these changes, and 'solve' remained.[167] Interestingly, in a letter to Moore on 12 August, 1926, Crane left an edit of 'To Brooklyn Bridge' at Moore's discretion, suggesting he valued her opinion as an editor, at least before 'Again' in November:

> As I have a suggestion to make in regard to the alteration of one line of this poem (or rather a substitution), I'm writing to you at once. 'Towers blot the drowning west in spooring stream', the third line in the sixth stanza, has bothered me. I am wondering if you would care to consider substituting the following for this line:
>
> 'All afternoon the cloud-flown derricks burn.'[168]

Moore agreed with the 'emendations', and so, the line was changed, and appears in this same form in the volume.[169]

In contrast to Moore's revisions, Thayer and Watson's position on editing submitted manuscripts was clear; they suggested that editors limited changes to 'grammatical editors'; 'if a passage in a manuscript is obscure', their procedure entailed asking the author 'if he so desires, to express it more clearly.'[170] Moore's edits demonstrate her autonomy as editor of *The Dial*, though she may have felt that they were made, as Marek puts it, as an attempt to 'maintain the magazine's range of interests'.[171] Moore's response to 'The Wine Menagerie' is, though, unique among these requests for edits in its function as a comprehensive piece of creative criticism on Crane's use of linguistic forms.

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[165] Moore to Crane, 26 June 1928, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[166] Crane to Moore, 28 June 1928, Moore to Crane, 2 July 1928, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[167] 'Solve' could not be cut from the line as it clearly refers back to 'hell', while 'why' refers back to the 'buddhas and engines' of the previous line. Crane, 'The Mermen', p. 230, ll. 1-4.
[168] Crane to Moore, 12 August 1926, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[169] Burke [on Moore's behalf] to Crane, 20 August 1926, box 3, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[170] Moore reiterates this in 'The Art of Poetry', p. 59. Thayer/Watson, 'General Instructions for Editorial Department', box 9, folder 318, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[171] Marek, *Women Editing Modernism*, 161.

b. 'Omissions are not accidents': editing 'The Wine Menagerie'

In November 1925, Moore wrote to Crane telling him that 'we should like to publish your poem, "The Wine Menagerie"', but only if he would 'permit us to make certain changes in it which we are venturing to present to you.' She continued:

> It is so much our wish not to distort or to interfere with an author's concept, that we thought to take no liberty and to relinquish the poem; we feel, however, that you may concur with us in the changes we suggest. In that case, might we use 'Again' as a title?[172]

The 'changes' Moore suggested (it was *Dial* policy to use the editorial 'we' in letters, a feature Crane parodied in a letter to Seldes[173]) that she claimed would not 'interfere' with Crane's concept reduced the poem from 49 to 18 lines, and removed all references to its subject (a dive bar), thus forcing the title change. Crane agreed to the changes, it seems impulsively, replying on the same day as Moore's letter. Crane assured Moore that:

> the enclosed version of 'The Wine Menagerie' contains the essential elements of the original poem, and inasmuch as I admire the sensibility and skill of your rearrangement of the poem I shall be glad to have it so printed in *The Dial*. The title, 'Again', of course, will supplant the original one.[174]

Crane's comment that he admired the 'skill' of Moore's 'rearrangement' of the text suggests that was a keen reader of Moore's poetry and prose, and spotted the same process of collage and re-assembly as in her own work, calling the text a 'happy mixture' in a letter from May 1926. Crane was, though, ambivalent about 'Again'. While he admired this 'arrangement', he complained profusely about the edit to his friends, including Winters, Richard and Charlotte Rychtarik, Josephson, and Frank.[175] These complaints were most likely rooted in his realisation of the criticisms of his poetic style that are manifest in 'Again', after his perhaps over-hasty acceptance of the changes.[176]

Along with her scepticism towards Crane's associative mode, Moore brings her own critical and creative principles of 'discipline' to her revisions of 'The Wine Menagerie' by cutting six whole stanzas from the poem and half of the ninth stanza. Here all quotations from 'The Wine Menagerie' (unless stated otherwise) come from a fair manuscript version of the poem from 1925, presumably the version Crane sent Moore.[177]

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[172] Moore to Crane, 10 November 1925, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[173] Crane to Seldes, 21 November 1923, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[174] Crane to Moore, 10 November 1925, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
[175] See footnote 53 (Chapter III).
[176] Crane to the Rychtariks, 1 December 1925, *OML*, pp. 209-10 (p. 210).
[177] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', box 1, folder 1, Crane Collection (Austin). Referred to henceforth as 'The Wine Menagerie MS'. Dated by Lohf as 1925, *Manuscripts,* p. 11.

By cutting the first three stanzas, Moore removes Crane's initial contextualisation of the poem in a bar and the dense metaphors of the 'mustard scansions of the eyes', the 'leopard ranging', 'glozening decanters', and the bartender's smile drawn out with 'forceps'—which seems to borrow from Baudelaire's 'un charmant sourire', the 'charming', slightly patronising 'smile' of 'les divinités mythologiques' (the mythological gods) in *Les Paradis Artificiels.*[178] Moore also cuts Crane's second reference to the bar as she removes stanza five where 'An urchin […] Nudges a canister across the bar', and, later, 'wine talons' and the drunken, hallucinatory comparison of another drinker to 'Holofernes' unconscious on the floor, as the narrator—cipher for Crane—'step[s]' over 'his shins'.[179]

In cutting these stanzas, and through her further rearrangement of the lines, Moore entirely restructures the poem, grouping the text into three parts that deal with three different ideas. 'The Wine Menagerie' deliberately 'range[s]' and drifts between different, loosely connected images, reflecting the speaker's obvious intoxication, perhaps with Baudelaire's 'Enivrez-vous' in mind, where he attempts (at least initially) to orientate himself through his attention to 'le vent, la vague, l'étoile, l'oiseau, l'horloge', ('the wind, the wave, the star, the bird, the clock') before giving up: 'envirez-vous sans cesse!' ('be drunk continually!').[180] In her comment piece for the same number, she echoes the editing principles that dictated her changes to 'The Wine Menagerie', and commented on the appeal of 'fastidious persuasiveness': 'literary fastidiousness is for the most part, implicit in precise, brilliant thinking.'[181] Moore, who praised Stevens's 'winter-starved metaphors' in the January 1924 number of *The Dial,* exhibits a thorough scepticism of Crane's associative mode in 'Again'.[182] This is construed as his inability to use the 'exact' word—as is also implied in her suggestions for 'The Mermen'. This is a clear misreading of Crane's poetic aims, underestimating the theoretical work behind Crane's associative use of metaphor.

For Crane, the 'logic' is the opposite of the 'surface phenomena' that he found reading Josephson in *Broom* and *Secession*, and it was intended as a defence against arbitrariness.[183] The idea is to ensure that the subjects and objects included in the poem are intrinsically connected to the fabric of the text, enabling Crane to make connections between images, and to produce their 'effects' and 'emotional dynamics', which, as he

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[178] Moore and Crane, 'Again', p. 370, ll. 1-18; 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 1-14; Baudelaire, *Les Paradis Artificiels*, p. 35.
[179] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 44-45.
[180] Baudelaire, 'Enivrez-Vous' ('Be Drunken'), trans. by Arthur Symons in *Baudelaire: His Prose and Poetry*, ed. by T. R. Smith (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1919), pp. 57-58 (p. 57).
[181] Moore, 'Comment', *The Dial*, 80.5 (May 1926), pp. 444-48 (pp. 444, 447).
[182] Moore, '*Harmonium'*, review of Wallace Stevens, *Harmonium* (1923), *The Dial*, 76.1 (January 1924), pp. 84-91 (p. 89).
[183] See Chapter II pp. 67-96 for a fuller discussion of the 'logic' and 'machine age' details.

writes in the 'Aims' he considered crucial in avoiding 'merely paint[ing] a photograph'.[184] For instance, in 'The Wine Menagerie' he uses the metaphor of 'wine talons' instead of describing the hands; this makes them seem predatory, clutched around the glass, creating a pointed shape, and thus reinforces the sexual undercurrent of the poem, the 'leopard ranging always in the brow', that is then restated (immediately after the 'talons' metaphor) with 'New thresholds, new anatomies'.[185]

Crane's juxtaposition of images endeavours, as a form of linguistic collage emphasised by allusion, to remove 'previous precepts or preconceptions' from the subject conveyed in the poem, creating the 'single *new word*' [italics in the original], as he explains in the 'Aims' when discussing his placing of Helen of Troy in modern day New York City.[186] Moore's first stanza deals with the image of the 'serpent' that 'pries' within a 'heap' of jewels. Her second verse picks up on Crane's reflections on his own poetic process with the 'New thresholds, new anatomies' line, and makes this the centre of the poem—as might be expected given Moore's own highly reflective creative sensibilities, and her blurring of the distinctions between her critical prose and poetry, as in 'Picking and Choosing'. In the final stanza Moore highlights the speaker's voice from 'The Wine Menagerie', and emphasises Crane's allusion to Isaac Watts's hymn 'Not from Dust Affliction Grows'.[187] These changes, as Burke put it, resulted in an edit that 'took all the wine out of the menagerie'.[188]

Beginning at stanza four was also useful for Moore's attempts to rationalise Crane's inconsistent prosody. Moore had been experimenting with syllabic forms, with 'A Graveyard in the Middle of the Sea' (1918) written in twenty-two syllables, and 'England' (1920) in thirty-two.[189] Taking Crane's poem at stanza four, the most metrically regular of the poem in fairly even heroic couplets, Moore uses its form to impose a ten syllable line length and couplets on the whole text, with some lines in iambic pentameter and only the occasional deviation from the established rhyme scheme. Moore's occasional changes of line lengths (down to eight and seven syllables) and rhyme scheme seem to be an attempt to accommodate Crane's deliberately varied prosody (in the majority of the original poem he uses irregular half and internal rhymes). Moore adds the unnecessary 'in which' to the first line in order to bring it up to ten syllables. This was anathema to Crane who avoided

[184] Crane, 'General Aims', p. 162.
[185] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 3, 29.
[186] Crane, 'General Aims', p. 161.
[187] Isaac Watts, 'Not from Dust Affliction Grows', *The Poetical Works of Isaac Watts in Seven Volumes with the Life of the Author*, Vol.3, (Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1782), p. 130.
[188] Edward Brunner, *Splendid Failure: Hart Crane and the Making of "The Bridge"* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 264.
[189] Margaret Holley, 'The Model Stanza: The Organic Origin of Moore's Syllabic Verse', *Twentieth Century Literature,* 30. 2-3 (Summer-Autumn, 1984), pp. 181-191 (p. 181).

letting a scheme dictate the grammar or content of a line, 'fill[ing] up' formal 'vacuums with slush' (in Pound's words), and so, as 'The Wine Menagerie' demonstrates to good effect, he was happy to let lines run long or short and, in this case, it helps to reflect the intoxicated, sprawling narration.[190] 'Again' does, though, retain much of Crane's phrasing. Even in his earliest poetry, Crane, like Moore, tends to follow Pound's principle, that a line should not 'stop dead at the end, and then begin every next line with a heave. Let the beginning of the next line catch the rise of the rhythm wave'.[191] And, so, finding a continuity between their poetic styles, although Moore edits the metaphors within the lines, she generally leaves Crane's phrasing and line breaks intact.

Minor changes in the first stanza of 'Again' unseat an interesting use of the 'logic' present in the original. Crane writes in 'The Wine Menagerie':

> What is it in this heap the serpent pries—
> Whose skin, facsimile of time, unskeins
> Octagon, sapphire transepts round the eyes;
> From whom some whispered carillon assures
> Speed to the arrow into feathered skies?[192]

By 'time unskeins' Crane means that time unwinds; or, at least, his narrator is incapable of experiencing time pass. Crane may have had Baudelaire's *Les Paradises: Du Vin et Haschisch*, in mind here, which he read over the summer of 1926.[193] Crane was most probably reading Baudelaire in the French, given his translations of Jules Laforgue's 'Locutions des Pierrots' for *The Double Dealer*, but Boni & Liveright also issued an edition of *Baudelaire: His Prose and Poetry* in 1919.[194] While Baudelaire offers a similar description of 'l'horrible fardeau du Temps' ('the horrible burden of Time') in 'Enivrez-Vous',[195] Crane draws more from the 'splendid visions' and temporal disintegration of *Les Paradises Artificiels* where 'Le temps avait complètement disparu', and 'Vous avez jeté votre personnalité aux quatre vents du ciel, et maintenant vous avez de la peine à la rassembler et à la concentrer.' ('Time has completely disappeared […] You have scattered your individuality to the four winds: how hard it is, now, to put it back together!).[196]

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[190] Ibid., 205.
[191] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 204.
[192] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 14-18.
[193] See footnote 130 (Chapter III).
[194] Charles Baudelaire, *Baudelaire: His Prose and Poetry*, ed. by T.R. Smith (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1919).
[195] Baudelaire, 'Enivrez-Vous', 'Trinck!', *Le Spleen de Paris: Petits Poèmes en prose*, *with Fanfarlo*, trans. by Francis Scarfe (London: Anvil, 2012), pp. 178-79.
[196] Baudelaire, *Les Paradis Artificiels: Petits Poëmes en Prose* (Paris: Editions Baudinière, 1900), pp. 174-175; Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradises*, trans. by Patricia Roseberry (Harrogate: Broadwater, 1999), pp. 61, 63.

Moore's apparently inconsequential edit deconstructs these allusions to Baudelaire, and Crane's description of the atemporality of intoxication. While Moore's edit prioritises the 'i' sounds of 'in', 'this', 'in which', 'pries' to link to 'skin', Crane had structured this stanza around a sibilant pattern that helps to reveal the sense of the stanza. Moore's edit focuses on a pun between 'skin' and 'unskeined' but, in moving 'unskeined' into the past tense, she removes an important reading. The sibilance of these lines is intended to create a link between the associative construction of the poem and this image of the snake's skin 'unskeining' as a metaphor for the experience of time disintegrating. The sibilance builds the 'anatomy' of the text in a manner analogous to the tiny scales that form the snake's skin that is—as he pushes this further—analogous to the experience of time in the poem as tiny details stitched together building up a larger form—which also recalls De Quincey's description of 'infinite declensions' of time.[197] 'Unskeins' needs to be in the present tense for this metaphor of time 'unskein[ing]' and unravelling to work. A sense of temporality, even just of an event having happened in the past, is contrary to the point of this poem's efforts to resist temporal markers—something also interrupted in the edit when Moore changes the vague opening phrase of 'Invariably when' to 'What in'.

Time in this poem is non-linear (until he finally leaves the bar, 'stepp[ing] over Holofernes' in the final stanza) and is constituted of parts signalled by passing images; in Crane's poem the various images show the attempt to reassemble the 'personality' thrown 'to the four winds'. The poem is structured according to the drinker's stream of consciousness, which often dwells on images or evocations of his own sexual desire as he moves from the 'leopard' (his own desire: Crane cruising the New York docks[198]) to the 'snake' (the bartender) to the 'urchin' to 'Petrushka'—which alludes to Stravinksy's ballet of the same name. Time, for Crane's narrator, can 'unskein' or be viewed as the individual, hallucinatory components present in 'The Wine Menagerie', just as the snake skin can be viewed as individual scales (and, to take it further, abruptly shed). Likewise, Crane's associative mode is both conducted on these small scales (as in the complex metaphor 'time unskeins') while also connecting the poem as a whole through linked associations and the phonics of the sibilant patterns. As in 'At Melville's Tomb' with its 'certain messages undelivered', Crane seems anxious about the potential opacity of the 'logic' and its ability to 'unskein' if these associations are missed by the reader. While Moore notices the reflective moment in 'New thresholds, new anatomies', this particular analogy to Crane's method goes, apparently, unnoticed, or was deemed too 'multiform' and complex.

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[197] Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater and Other Writings* (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 2013), p. 150.
[198] Mariani, *The Broken Tower*, pp. 137, 139, 266, 380, 424.

While Moore does showcase the reflexive turn in Crane's poem in her central stanza, she erases the dual meaning present in this self-conscious moment. When Crane discusses his associative mode (the 'anatomy' of the poem) it often becomes linked to the limits ('thresholds') of this form, and his process of codification and dealing with his homosexual relationships in his poetry—as in 'the word made flesh' and 'the love of things irreconcilable' in the 'Voyages' and 'Faustus'.[199] By cutting the final stanza, Moore removes an interesting related moment. The speaker begins to talk to himself in the penultimate stanza and he describes how he 'pivots' as he leaves the bar. The dancerly 'pivot' comes from Crane's self-comparison to 'Petrushka's Valentine'. Crane, who saw Stravinsky conduct in New York in February 1925 and expresses a sincere admiration for the composer in his letters, is referring to his *Petrushka*, named after the folkloric 'Punch' figure. In Stravinsky's ballet, originally danced by the Ballets Russes, three puppets compete for each others' affections: the female, 'Ballerina', is courted by 'The Moor' and 'Petrushka'.[200] In Crane's rendering of this ballet in 'The Wine Menagerie', he places himself as 'Petrushka's Valentine': the female Ballerina. This image performs the 'New thresholds, new anatomies' line as Crane switches genders, casting himself in the female role and subverting the 'erotic triangle' of the original ballet.[201] Like Whitman in the 'The Sleepers' declaring 'I am the actor, the actress', 'I am she who adorn'd herself', this is employed as a way of simultaneously declaring, albeit in a coded, closeted manner, the poem's homoeroticism.[202]

Crane's references to 'wreathing bodies', and the 'leopard ranging' of his gaze falling on different figures in the opening stanzas hoping for that 'receptive smile', build into the 'new thresholds, new anatomies' line, and then the subverted 'Petrushka' image using his principle of 'orbits'—metaphors linked through their similar associations.[203] Moore, though, empties not only the 'wine' but the erotic charge of the poem. Her central stanza, which uses this key 'thresholds' phrase, becomes self-consciously focused on the act of writing, rather than a moment where Crane is dwelling on his concerns over poetic depictions of his sexual relationships. This stanza, in 'Again', reads:

> New thresholds, new anatomies,
> New freedoms now distil
> This competence, to travel in a tear,

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[199] See pp. 90- 93 for a discussion of this in the 'Voyages'.
[200] Richard Taruskin, 'Stravinsky's *Petrushka*' in *Petrushka: Sources and Contexts*, ed. by Andrew Wachtel (Evanston: Northwestern, 1998), pp. 67-115.
[201] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men* (New York: Columbia, 1985), p. 21.
[202] Whitman, 'The Sleepers', *Leaves of Grass,* pp. 325-332 (p. 326), l. 42; Crane, 'Menagerie', p. 17, ll. 29-32.
[203] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, l. 32; Crane, 'Aims', p. 163.

Sparkling alone within another's will.[204]

In Crane's poem these metaphors connect to the preceding lines and their associatively built imagery: 'Wine talons | Build freedom up about me, and distil' and in the preceding stanza, 'Poor streaked bodies'.[205] The 'wine talons', as previously discussed, carefully describe the clutched, pointed shape of the hand around the glass, as well as introducing this predatory tone; 'up about me' introduces the poet's whole body, and links the erotic and physical 'bodies' of the poem with the 'anatomy', the body, of the text. For Crane, there is an anxiety in these descriptions. As well as a comment on the 'anatomy' of the text, this is a coded description of sexual intercourse ('up about me', 'within another's will'), and then follows his anxiety over the 'purity' of each conquest. From the following stanza in 'The Wine Menagerie':

Until my blood dreams a receptive smile
Wherein new purities are snared; where chimes
Before some flame of gaunt repose a shell
Tolled once, perhaps, by every tongue in hell.
Anguished the wit that cries out of me: [206]

'Again' loses this erotic moment and its associated anxiety, so linked to the 'logic' in this poem, as in the 'Voyages'. The 'tear' is, in Crane's poem, linked to the 'vapour[ous]' ideas floating in and out of his consciousness, with some of them 'distilling' into ideas for the poem, and then 'in a tear', 'within another's will', these ideas and metaphors being read, unpicked, and interpreted. Here Crane is again borrowing from Whitman, where the unlocking of coded images becomes erotic, and the poet's idea of their own legacy is eroticised. As in the fourth stanza of 'Two Rivulets':

In You, whoe'er you are, my book perusing,
In I myself—in all the World—these ripples flow,
All, all, toward the mystic Ocean tending.

(O yearnful waves! the kisses of your lips!
Your breast so broad, with open arms, O firm, expanded shore!)[207]

For Crane the reader unpicking the images of the poem is similarly eroticised, and he echoes the double entendre of Whitman's 'In You' and 'In I myself' with 'within another's will'. Without these associated ideas, Moore's edits echo the interests of her own poetry and force the 'New thresholds, new anatomies' metaphor to only work as a comment on

[204] Crane and Moore, 'Again', p. 370, ll. 7-10.
[205] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 26, 29, 30.
[206] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 33-37.
[207] Whitman, 'Two Rivulets', *The Works of Walt Whitman*, ed. by. David Rogers (Ware: Wordsworth, 1995), pp. 538-89, ll. 10-13.

the construction of the poem, and the 'anatomy' of the text. This is further emphasised with 'New thresholds' in its position at the centre of the poem. Rather than linking to Crane's bodily images, Moore creates a link between the 'anatomy' of the text here with the opening line 'What in this heap in which the serpent pries', where Moore's 'serpent' prying for jewels resembled her own 'Picking and Choosing'.

c. 'Apparently incongruous things': poetic collage and the rearranging of allusions

In some ways, Moore's highlighting of this introspective metaphor where the poet is searching for ideas 'in this heap' is apt, given Crane's interest in allusive fragments and collage forms present in 'The Wine Menagerie'. It also seems natural for Moore, given her poetic principles, to foreground this aspect of the poem, but it also causes her to disregard the different approach Crane takes. Moore's concepts of self-editing and her own collaged forms are linked to her desire for 'exactness', and her 'surgical' approach to poetic construction that she mentions in 'Holes Bored in a Workbag by the Scissors' where she is interested in the 'voids' between 'stitched' fragments of cloth and, with intriguing similarity to the work of Crane, the connections between ideas in her poetry.[208] But, while Moore takes this 'surgical' approach to almost minimal limits, Crane revels in multifarious comparisons and allusions to Baudelaire, Isaac Watts, the Book of Judith and Stravinsky. Underpinning the use of collaged metaphors and allusions is an interest in different types of fragment forms.[209] For both Crane and Moore this impulse may have been derived from their poetic development during the height of Imagist fashions where, as Andrew Clearfield puts it, the poem can become a 'collage of images' without the expected 'formal, visual or semantic ordering.'[210]

'The Wine Menagerie' revels, particularly, in its allusions to Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* and *Les Paradis Artificiels: Opium et Haschisch*. In *Transmemberment of Song*, Lee Edelman comments on features of critical narratives of Crane's poetry:

> [It] has been the site of heated ideological battle to define the nature of literary modernism and its relationship to the literary past in general and to romanticism in particular.[211]

Shifting this point to Crane's immediate reception, this 'battle' over the influences of 'literary modernism' can be seen played out in the 1920s via Moore's edit of 'Again'. Crane and Moore's clash over the edit was, at least in part, rooted in Moore's and Crane's

[208] Moore, 'Holes Bored in a Workbag by the Scissors', p. 137, l. 7.
[209] In IV, pp. 155-160, I discuss the differences between the allusive and non allusive fragment.
[210] Clearfield, *Collage and Montage in Early Modernist Poetry*, p. 127.
[211] Edelman, *Transmemberment of Song*, p. 259.

different ideas about a viable literary past, and what Moore deemed to be legitimate or illegitimate influences. Here, though, the question is not so much about Crane's relationship with 'romanticism', but his interest in Decadent poetry that grew out of his engagement with the Greenwich Village journals. Pound was a dominant presence in both *The Dial* and *Poetry* during the 1910s and 1920s and, as Vincent Sherry puts it, drew 'forceful' distinctions between modernist experiments and 'the artifice of written literature among Nineties poets'. These distinctions, writes Sherry, have become the 'truism of literary history' of '[Pound's] own decade'.[212] As Pound wrote: 'And in the face of this are we in the heat of our declining youth expected to stretch the one word *merde* over eighteen elaborate paragraphs?'[213]Moore was averse to Crane's obvious interest in Baudelaire, while her slightly more subtle implications of her dislike of his 'artifice' play into this 'truism'— and a perception of the relationship between literary history and modernism that was more widely broadcast by *The Dial*. As Moore's edit implies, Crane's obvious engagement with Decadence in 'The Wine Menagerie' through his use of Baudelaire would not have sat well among the literary tastes of the journal. Although *The Dial* printed translations from Rimbaud and Valery, and poetry that was subtler in its borrowings from the French Symbolists, with Eliot, 'apprenticed' to Laforgue being an obvious example here,[214] its contributions tended to exhibit a scepticism towards the 'artifice' of Decadence, and its association with moral 'decay', 'attributed to those aspects of character and activity that are manifestly counter-conventional, sometimes scandalous'— with these associations being Crane's main focus in 'The Wine Menagerie'.[215] *The Dial* did not publish, like *The Pagan*, or Bruno's journals, the nostalgic, openly 'post-Decadent' modernism of Greenwich Village that was central to Crane's poetic development. *The Dial* preferred, as its contributors' list shows, experiments in a more Imagistic vein, local and national subjects, and writers who were, at least ostensibly, sceptical about the 'artifice' of the Decadents.[216] Moore's consistent emphasis on 'restraint' was, at least at *The Dial,* apparently defined in particular opposition to Decadent writing, and its associations with excess. This was working, perhaps according to the Imagists' conception of modern poetry, as a way of distinguishing, as Pound put it in the first number of *The Egoist,* the 'younger' writers from 'that disastrous decade'.[217] Charles Vale's (a pseudonym for Charles Hooley[218]) review of Oscar Wilde's

[212] Vincent Sherry, *Modernism and the Reinvention of Decadence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 1.
[213] Pound as quoted in Sherry, *Modernism and Decadence*, p. 2.
[214] David E. Chinitz, T. S. Eliot and the Cultural Divide (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005), p. 34.
[215] Sherry, *The Reinvention of Decadence,* p. 37.
[216] See Sherry, *The Reinvention of Decadence*, for a discussion of, despite the 'heckling' of statements like Pound's, the 'decisive role that a poetics of decadence plays in the formation of modernist poetry' (p. 35).
[217] Pound, 'Ferrex on Petulance', *The Egoist*, 1.1. (1 January 1914), pp. 9-10 (p. 9).

The Portrait of Mr. W. H. in the September 1921 number of *The Dial* contained a revealing final comment (echoing Moore's criticisms of Crane linked to his homosexuality) that 'discipline was a mere name to him.'[219] Aiken's scathing review of *White Buildings* seems symptomatic of *The Dial*'s tastes, and further highlights Crane's uneasy position at the journal with its comments on 'unreflecting indulgence[s]' and his 'affectation'[220].

'The Wine Menagerie' is consistently engaged with Baudelaire's hallucinatory descriptions of intoxication with 'merveilleux et fantastique' apparitions,[221] and borrows a number of images from *Les Fleurs du Mal*, particularly the set of poems from 'Le Vin',[222] and *Les Paradis Artificiels* and 'Enivrez-vous' (translated variously, for instance, 'Be Always Drunken', 'Trinck!').[223] 'Le Vin des Amants' ('The Wine of Lovers'), from *Les Fleurs du Mal,* for instance, moves similarly between strange images that drift between the 'rêves' (dreams) of 'Partons à cheval sur le vin' ('Let us set out by horseback on wine'), that are, like Crane's 'slumbering' gaze, hallucinatory mirages ('le mirage lointain').[224] In 'Le Vin du solitaire' ('The Solitary's Wine') Crane relies on Baudelaire's dual description 'd'une femme galante' ('a lady of pleasure') and alcohol where the 'thirsty heart of the pious poet' ('au coeur altéré du poète pieux') is seen in the 'fruitful belly' ('ta panse féconde')of the 'deep, deep bottle' ('ô bouteille profonde').[225] Using a direct translation, and focusing on reflected images of the 'belly', in 'The Wine Menagerie' Crane writes:

> Then glozening decanters that reflect the street
> Wear me in crescents on their bellies; slow
> Applause flows to their deep cynosures:
> —I am the conscript of their shadows' glow
>
> […] Regard the forceps of the smile that takes her.
> Percussive sweat is [s]preading to his hair. Mallets,

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[218] Nancy Mitford, *Savage Beauty: The Life of Edna St. Vincent Millay* (New York: Random House, 2001), p. 104.
[219] The title of Vale's review is intriguing given tropes in criticisms of Crane: 'A Brilliant Failure', review of Oscar Wilde, *The Portrait of Mr W. H.* (1921), *The Dial*, 71.3 (September 1921), pp. 359-64.
[220] Aiken, 'Briefer Mention: *White Buildings*', review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *The Dial*, 82.4. (May 1927), p. 432.
[221] Baudelaire, *Les Paradis Artificiels,* p. 172.
[222] Baudelaire, 'L'Âme du vin' ('The Soul of Wine'), 'Le Vin des chiffoniers' ('The Ragman's Wine'), 'Le Vin de l'assassin' ('The Murderer's Wine'), 'Le Vin du Solitaire' ('The Solitary Wine'), 'Le Vin des Amants' ('The Lover's Wine'), *Les Fleurs du mal* (Oxford), pp. 215-26.
[223] Baudelaire, 'Enivrez-Vous', 'Be Drunken, trans. by Arthur Symons in *Baudelaire* (Boni & Liveright, 1919), pp. 57-58 (p. 57); 'Enivrez-Vous', 'Trinck!', *Le Spleen de Paris,* trans. by Francis Scarfe (Anvil), pp. 178-79.
[224] Baudelaire, 'Le Vin des Amants' ('The Lover's Wine'), *Les Fleurs du mal* (Oxford), pp. 234-35, l. 3; Baudelaire, ibid., p. 235, ll. 3, 8.
[225] Baudelaire, 'Le Vin du Solitaire' ('The Solitary Wine'), *Les Fleurs du mal* (Oxford), p. 233, ll. 9-14; William Aggeler, 'Wine of the Solitary', *The Flowers of Evil* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1954), p. 109, ll. 9-14.

Her eyes, unmake an instant of the world…[226]

However, unlike Crane's earlier derivative Decadent experiments published in *The Pagan*, here he is critical of his reliance on Baudelaire, and these allusions are crucial in showing his scepticism of the creative properties of intoxication put forward in *Les Paradis Artificiels*. The poem becomes a pastiche through the sheer number of images Crane presents and, it should be noted, his 'logic', with its surreal juxtapositions, has more in common with post-symbolist and post-Decadent experiments in French literature. As mentioned in Chapter I, the relationship between 'Carmen de Boheme' and 'C33' and 'The Wine Menagerie' mirrors that of 'Porphyro' and 'Faustus' as Crane gradually moves from imitating the poetry he is interested in, to experimenting with particular details. 'The Wine Menagerie' does not, though, romanticise intoxication as a creative stimulus; rather, the 'slumbering gaze' of the poem is frequently seen to be scrambling for comparisons when the speaker attempts to deviate from Baudelaire, and is perhaps best read as an ambivalent, frustrated comment on the effect of his own drinking habits on his work.[227] For instance, searching for a comparison in the reported speech in stanza nine he awkwardly describes the disintegration of his relationships as 'dominoes of love' (i.e. failing with the inevitably of a line of dominoes falling down in sequence).[228] Moore's edit, though, manages to thoroughly erase Crane's allusions to Baudelaire by removing his descriptions of the bar scene, and focusing on the reflexive central stanzas, while 'time unskeins', without the 'wine' context also loses its resonances with the atemporal mode of *Les Paradis Artificiels*.

Finding Crane's allusions to Baudelaire 'simulated' and unnecessary to the central meaning of the poem, Moore strips them from the poem. Instead, she emphasises Crane's use of Isaac Watts's 'Not From Dust Affliction Grows', which Crane most likely came across through Mary Baker Eddy's *The Christian Science Hymnal*, which includes a number of selections from Watts, and Crane would have almost certainly have encountered the hymn at his Sunday school in Cleveland.[229] Watt's hymn is suddenly recalled in the final stanzas of the poem:

—Anguished, the wit that cries out of me:

'Alas, —these frozen billows of your skill!
Invent new dominoes of love and bile…

[226] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 5-13.
[227] See Mariani, *The Broken Tower*, pp. 304-07, 15, 37, 141, 130, 261 on Crane's alcoholism.
[228] Crane's letters show his continued interest in Baudelaire, see Crane to William Wright, 5 February 1920, *Letters*, pp. 32-33 (p. 33).
[229] Mariani, *Broken Tower*, p. 23; *The Christian Science Hymnal: With Seven Hymns by Mary Baker Eddy*, ed. by Mary Baker Eddy (Boston: Christian Science Publishing Society, 1909). Isaac Watts, 'Not from Dust Affliction Grows', p. 130.

Ruddy, the implicit tooth of the world
Has followed you, also. Though in the end you know
And count some dim inheritance of sand,
How much yet meets the treason of the snow.[230]

Watts's hymn, which recalls Job, 5.6, reads:

Not from the dust affliction grows,
Nor troubles rise by chance;
Yet we are born to care and woes,
A sad inheritance.[231]

Moore chooses to emphasise this allusion further:

Anguished the wit cries out of me, 'The world
Has followed you. Though in the end you know
And count some dim inheritance of sand,
How much yet meets the treason of the snow.'[232]

Apparently finding this a more palatable source for *The Dial*, Moore secures the quotation marks around the borrowed phrases, and removes Crane's deliberately strange metaphors of 'the tooth implicit in the world' and 'dominoes of love and bile' that interrupt the quotation.

Moore's revisions of some of the allusions in 'Again' also extended to introducing new associations to the poem. Going against Thayer and Watson's guidelines that 'two pieces of verse by different poets should not be juxtaposed', Moore placed Crane's poem directly underneath Rainer Maria Rilke's 'Nine Prose Poems'. In juxtaposing the two, Moore creates links between the texts. Rilke's poem, translated into English, ends:

They will give each other a hundred names and take them off
one after the other, gently, as you take off an ear-ring.[233]

And, beneath the Rilke, 'Again' opened:

What in this heap in which the serpent pries,
Reflects the sapphire transepts round the eyes—
That angled octagon upon a skin.[234]

Moore's placement of the two poems creates a link between the 'angled octagon' almost as a piece of jewellery, as well as the snake's markings. Similarly, Rilke's translated line [*Dial* formatting]:

They have found each other in order to become a new genera-

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[230] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie' MS, ll. 37-43.
[231] Isaac Watts, 'Not from Dust Affliction Grows', p. 130, ll. 1-4.
[232] Moore/Crane, 'Again', p. 370, ll. 15-18
[233] Rainer Maria Rilke, 'Nine Prose Poems', *The Dial*, 80.5 (May 1926), pp. 367-370 (p. 370), ll. 83-91.
[234] Moore/Crane, 'Again', p. 370, ll. 1-2.

ion, one in the other.[235]

finds a resonance with Crane's line: 'Sparkling alone within another's will'.

Moore printed Charles Sheeler's *Still Life* (Figure 7) on the opposing page of 'Again', with Sheeler's minimalist composition intended to complement the pared down aesthetic of the edit.[236] This formed a pattern in Crane's work in *The Dial*.[237] On the publication of 'Repose of Rivers', Crane's poem preceded Anthony Wrynn's short story 'Where This River Ends', but, with landscape drawings from Jacoba van Heemskerck between the two written contributions. The 'willows' and the 'slow sarabande' of the wind through 'cypresses' resonate with Heemskerck's landscapes—the first dominated, fittingly, by a tree (Figure 8).[238] 'The Air Plant', was followed by a reproduction of an oil portrait by the Cubist painter Henri le Fauconnier of Georges Duhamel, just before Morand's 'Paris Letter' (Figure 9).[239] On the publication of 'The Mermen', Moore placed the poem as part of a 'variation on a theme' in the September 1928 number alongside photographs of nude sculptures by Anton Hanak (Figure 10), and prefaced by a prose piece, 'Trinidad' by Arthur A. Young.[240] Moore may have also had the publication of 'Praise for an Urn' in mind here, when, under Thayer—who was extremely particular about the arrangement of the contents of *The Dial*, as his letters to Seldes, Gregory and Moore attest—the poem appeared next to photographic reproductions of George Kolbe's *Mermaid* sculptures (Figure 11).[241] While, for 'The Mermen', the Hanak sculptures in their contorted, suspended forms complement Crane's poem, the exoticism of 'Trinidad' creates an uncomfortable, but useful, association between the two poems. 'Trinidad' ends with a description of 'the sapphire of the ocean' which sits uncomfortably with Crane's depiction of the ocean. Crane begins with a forbidding epigraph from *King Lear*: 'And if| Thy banished trunk be found in our dominions', to set up the poem. The contrast created by Moore's arrangement of the texts

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[235] Rilke, 'Nine Prose Poems', p. 370, ll. 83-91.

[236] Charles Sheeler, *Still Life*, crayon drawing: reproduction, *The Dial*, 80.5 (May 1926), p. 370.

[237] It seems useful to note that *The Dial* classed minor contributions as 'filler' which could explain any initial decision to use Crane next to paintings. However, after his first publications, he was no longer listed as a 'filler' poet. See *The Dial's* 'List of Accepted Material', in box 9, folder 320-21, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

[238] As noted in *Hart Crane and Yvor Winters: Their Literary Correspondence*, ed. by Thomas Francis Parkinson (Berkeley: University of California,1978), p. 10; Crane, 'Repose of Rivers', *The Dial*, 81.3 (September 1926), p. 204; Jacoba van Heemsbeck, *Landscape*, brush drawing: reproduction, ibid., p. 204; Anthony Wrynn's 'Where This River Ends', ibid., pp. 205-214.

[239] Henri le Fauconnier, *Georges Duhamel*, oil painting: reproduction, *The Dial*, 84.2 (February 1928), p. 140; Morand, 'Paris Letter', *The Dial*, ibid., pp. 141-45.

[240] Crane, 'The Mermen', p. 230; Anton Hanak, *Exaltations,* marble sculpture: reproduction, *The Dial*, 85.3 (September 1928), p. 224; Arthur A. Young, 'Trinidad', *The Dial*, 85.3 (September 1928), pp. 225-230

[241] Joost, 'Editorial Attitudes', *Thayer and "The Dial"*, pp. 43-73. This was despite a rule, flouted consistently by Thayer, that 'verse…should not be published just before or just after an illustration', Thayer and Watson, 'General Instructions for Editors', box 9, folder 312, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven); George Kolbe, *Mermaid*, bronze sculpture: reproduction, *The Dial*, 72.6 (June 1922), p. 553.

works to emphasise Crane's strange lapsarian poem where 'the Cross' has sunk 'undersea', with all 'that's warped and cracked' 'follow[ing] in its name'.[242]

Moore's edits of 'The Wine Menagerie' show the ways that her own poetic and creative practices influenced her edit, and how her misreadings of the 'logic' governed her decisions to excise certain whole stanzas and small details. A comparison of Crane's 1925 version of 'The Wine Menagerie' with the *White Buildings* text also reveals some post-*Dial* edits where Crane seems to be clarifying some ideas. Perhaps with Moore's criticisms in mind, the majority of these changes came in the first three stanzas, which Moore cut entirely. Crane changes, for instance, 'deep cynosures' to 'liquid' to make it more obvious that he is still describing the 'decanters' in the preceding lines.[243] Close attention to Moore's dealings with Crane reveal her preferences for material for *The Dial*, for instance, the kind of forms and influences and affiliations that she wished her contributors to display, as a way of situating the aesthetic interests of the magazine, while her shifting of Crane's allusions also work to introduce these visual correlations, creating a network of correspondences between contributions to *The Dial*. As Moore commented on her approach to editing: 'Didn't Aristotle say that it is the mark of the poet to see resemblances between apparently incongruous things?'[244]

iii. *Poetry*

a. 'A Discussion with Hart Crane'

'Take me for the hard-boiled unimaginative unpoetic reader', wrote Harriet Monroe to Crane in a letter published alongside his first appearance in *Poetry*, 'and tell me how *dice* can *bequeath an embassy* (or anything else)'. 'Your ideas and rhythms interest me', she continued, before asking Crane to 'justify the poem's succession of champion mixed metaphors' in this public forum.[245] Crane submitted the poem to *Poetry* in the spring of 1926, and it was published in October.[246] While Winters's letters to Monroe show that he had been 'making efforts to convince H. M. that she ought to publish Hart Crane' as early as 1923, there is no evidence that Crane submitted work to *Poetry* until 1926, and Monroe did not solicit work from Crane at any point during his association with the journal.[247] However, Morton

[242] Crane, 'The Mermen', p. 230, ll. 5-7.
[243] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', MS, ll. 5-8; Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete Poems*, pp. 23-24 (p.23), ll. 5-8.
[244] Moore, 'The Art of Poetry', p. 58.
[245] Monroe, 'Discussion', pp. 34-41 (p. 35).
[246] Most likely in late April, judging by his submission to *The Calendar* and Monroe's discussion with Winters in May. See Crane to Frank, 19 June 1926, *Letters*, p. 258.
[247] Winters to George Dillon, 31 May 1938, *Dear Editor*, pp. 329-330 (p. 329).

Dauwen Zabel, her assistant, did solicit his work, even admitting that he was accepting Crane's submissions with 'somewhat keener interest' than his superior.[248] Although Monroe accepted 'At Melville's Tomb', she did so only after Winters had persuaded her of Crane's talent. And, even then, she only published the poem after Crane agreed to write a gloss. This resulting 'Discussion with Hart Crane' was printed in the same number.[249] Like Moore, Monroe expressed frustration in her inability to understand Crane's associative mode, and, as with 'Again' in *The Dial,* this was conveyed to her readers through an editing intervention. Monroe's 'Discussion' makes explicit the criticisms that are implicit in 'Again', translating Moore's worries into critical prose. This, when taken alongside 'Again' and reviews of *White Buildings*, shows how Crane was working against both editors' individual preferences, and the editorial preferences active in *The Dial* and *Poetry*, but also shows how the 'Discussion' set up a critical language for dealing with Crane that was echoed in later reviews. Taggard directly referred to the 'prose controversy' of the 'Discussion' in her review of *White Buildings*, while later critical articles, with highly influential pieces by Winters and Tate published in Monroe's magazine, reiterated these same complaints, despite Crane's compelling dismissal of Monroe's worries in his letters printed in the 'Discussion'.

The 'Discussion' framed Crane, at least for the readers of *Poetry*, as a writer of 'confused' poetry that was in need of 'explaining in prose'.[250] Winters initially saw Monroe's dismissal of Crane as evidence of *Poetry*'s increasing irrelevance among avant-garde literary circles: 'you are about three movements behind the times', he told Monroe in June 1927.[251] Interestingly, *Hound & Horn* made a similar comment in relation to *The Dial*, noting in its December 1927 number that Crane's 'Powhatan's Daughter' and Cowley's 'Leander' offered the only 'fragments to reward the purchaser' in an otherwise unremarkable issue.[252] The 'Discussion' is useful in that it forced Crane to explicitly articulate his poetic aesthetic in print, while showing how this engagement with a major editor shaped his immediate reception. This interaction even seems to set a precedent for his treatment in reviews and articles published in *Poetry* during Crane's lifetime. *Poetry* is unique among Crane's poetry publishers in that it also published highly influential critical articles on his work that laid out critical narratives that still dominate discussions of Crane's poetry. Yvor Winters's 'The Progress of Hart Crane', in the June 1930 number, echoes Monroe's initial appraisal in the 'Discussion'. The review, which 'astonished' Crane, argued that *The Bridge* is 'confused',

[248] Zabel to Crane, 3 November 1931, box Seven, Crane Papers (New York). Zabel was referring to Crane's forthcoming review of James Whaler's *Green River*, and other reviews Zabel had commissioned, but were never completed before Crane's death. See footnote 21 (Chapter III).
[249] Winters to Monroe, *Dear Editor,* 27 November 1926, *Dear Editor*, p. 277.
[250] Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber', p. 4.
[251] Winters to Moore, 28 June 1927, *Dear Editor*, p. 278.
[252] *Hound & Horn* editorial, as quoted in Joost, *Thayer and "The Dial"*, pp. 254-45.

and lacks 'narrative framework' and 'formal unity'.[253] His shock was, partly, because Winters had previously defended Crane's work in letters to Monroe, and urged her to accept any sections of *The Bridge* sent to *Poetry*.[254] Then, in July 1932, Tate's 'Hart Crane and the American Mind' popularised the description of *The Bridge* as a 'grand failure', and, developing lines of criticism evident in Winters's article, presented a view of Crane's poetry that reinforced Monroe's criticisms.[255]

In January 1932, Crane wrote to Zabel commenting on how his views of *Poetry* had changed throughout his career. Judging by his letter, *Poetry* was going through some financial difficulties, but although Crane noted that he had 'been at times one of its most rabid critics' he added that:

> the fact remains that it has been absolutely unique in modern literary history. It has blazed more than one trail and exposed countless stupidities; and its critical standards, especially of late, have been a challenge to those of any magazine printed in English. I'm not a Christian Scientist, but I can't help thinking that, granted H. M.'s continued interest and admirable enthusiasm, a way will be found to keep it alive beyond the 20-year limit.[256]

While Crane's opinion of *Poetry* was, no doubt, warmed by Zabel's appreciation of his poetry, his point here is the journal's 'unique' position: having been established in 1912, unlike many of its contemporaries, it was still publishing in 1932. Crane's respect seems rooted in this sheer longevity, which was both down to Monroe's careful financing of *Poetry* through donations, and the result of her refusal to give its pages over to particular groups (at least after Pound's involvement, with *Poetry* very much Pound's organ for his Imagist group from 1913 to the late 1910s), but this inattention, particularly to the 'exiles', led Crane to find the magazine a conservative, 'one-time famous' sheet earlier in his career.[257] By contrast, *The Dial* and *The Little Review* ('twenty year limit' refers to *The Little Review*'s demise), other relatively long-lived journals, had ceased publication within months of each other, in July and May 1929, respectively.[258] Crane was, too, in a very different position to

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[253] Winters, 'Progress', pp. 133, 158; Crane to Isidor Schneider, 8 June 1930, *OML*, pp. 430-31 (p. 431).
[254] Winters to Monroe, 11 May 1926, *Dear Editor,* pp. 275, 280; Winters to Monroe, 27 November 1926, ibid., p. 277; Winters to Monroe, 31 July 1928, *Dear Editor,* pp. 279-80.
[255] Winters, 'Progress', pp. 153-65; Tate, 'American Mind', *Poetry*, 40.4 (July 1932), pp. 210-216. See IV, p. 209 on the popularity of this phrase, which originates from Cowley's review of *The Bridge* in *The New Republic*, Cowley, 'A Preface to Hart Crane', *New Republic*, 62.803 (23 April 1930), pp. 276-277 (p. 266).
[256] Crane to Zabel, 7 January 1932, box 1, folder 18, Morton Dauwen Zabel Papers (Chicago).
[257] Monroe had founded the journal in 1912, financed the journal through a system of $50 annual endowments from 100 donors. Cahill, *Harriet Monroe,* p. 129; Crane to Burke, 28 September 1926, *OML*, p. 276.
[258] Prior to this, *The Little Review* had appeared irregularly as a quarterly throughout the 1920s after the *Ulysses* trial in 1921. Thayer had decided he no longer wanted to foot the bill for *The Dial*'s huge deficit. Joost, *Thayer and "The Dial"*, pp. 255-56; *The Little Review*, 12.2 (May 1929: Confessions and Letters Number).

his early interactions with *Poetry*; by 1932 he had published two volumes, with *Key West* in its last stages.

Poetry was founded in 1912, Monroe wrote, to 'give poetry her own place, her own voice', when 'most magazine editors say that there is no public for poetry in America.'[259] During its run, many other journals associated with Crane had 'aimed fire' at *Poetry*. These smaller readership and more unstable journals, such as *Others, The Little Review, The Pagan, Secession, 1924,* and *S4N,* had, on average, lifespans of around two years. Implicit in Crane's letter, though, is the necessity for more eclectic journals, like *Poetry*, to offer a broader range of writers, before these more factional, specialised journals could stake out their own positions in the field. Josephson termed these publications 'tendenz' journals in that they represented a particular 'tendency' or aesthetic and were positioned in contrast to the generalist, eclectic approach demonstrated by Monroe that was necessarily determined by an apparent lack of interest in American poetry in the literary field at the time of founding her journal.[260]

Poetry quickly amassed an eclectic range of contributors. Pound appeared in the first issue and later, as foreign editor between 1912 and 1917, secured a number of impressive contributions for the journal, including T. S. Eliot's 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'.[261] Other *Poetry* contributors included Padraic Colum, Countee Cullen, John Gould Fletcher, Robert Frost, Ford Madox Ford, Langston Hughes, James Joyce, Amy Lowell, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Marianne Moore, Carl Sandburg, Wallace Stevens, Arthur Symons, Rabindranath Tagore, William Carlos Williams and W. B. Yeats. *Poetry* is also notable for its dedicated 'Women's Numbers' (much to Pound's chagrin[262]), while standard issues were well populated by female poets, including in the review pages.[263]

Poetry had a number of distinguished contributors, including, as Crane notes in his letter, an increasing number of critics, including influential commentators on his own work, R. P. Blackmur, Winters, and Tate. By the 1920s, however, a great deal of the poetry it published seemed, in Crane's eyes, conservative.[264] Monroe's continued attention to the Imagist work that had been fashionable in the early 1910s, popularised through, among others, her own journal, *The Little Review*, and *Others*, dated the publication; the rise of

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[259] Monroe, 'The Motive of the Magazine', *Poetry* 1.1. (October 1912), pp. 26-18 (p. 27).
[260] Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 188.
[261] Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', *Poetry*, 6.3 (June 1915), pp. 130-135.
[262] 'My impression is that you have tried ladies' numbers, children's numbers, in fact everything but a man's number. And that you tend to become more and more a tea party, all meres de famille, only one fallen woman among them (and 'er with a sob of repentance).' Pound, as quoted in Cahill, *Monroe*, p. 73.
[263] The October 1926 number, for instance, features Frances Shaw, Helen Birch Bartlett, Margery Swett Mansfield, reviews of Edith Sitwell and Muriel Stuart with around a third of the journal's space given to women poets or reviews of women's work. Front Matter, *Poetry,* 29.1 (October 1926), unpaginated.
[264] Crane to Burke, 28 September 1926, *OML*, p. 276.

Imagism had created as Pound put it to Monroe as early as 1915, a 'democratic beer garden'.[265] As Henderson pointed out to Monroe's biographer, Monroe had fairly static editing principles throughout her tenure that echoed Imagism. Monroe's editing principles, Henderson recalled, emphasised 'structure', and she disliked 'the padding of lines', 'any poeticises', 'propaganda poetry', 'overstatement', 'typographical idiosyncrasies', 'personal verse or verse in dubious taste', and 'conversation[al] language'.[266] Monroe's preferred 'tangent of the modern movement' followed these principles, which had 'stripp[ed] the art bare' of 'rhetoric, eloquence, grandiloquence, poetic diction' and the 'frills and furbelows which had over-draped, over-ornamented its beauty'.[267] Monroe had a clear preference for poetic contributions that followed this aesthetic, and utilised localist subjects. Such contributions included 'The Santa Fé Trail—A Humoresque', 'Buffalo Dance', 'Niagara', 'Prairie', 'The Real West', 'Indian Blue-Bonnets', 'The Lost Trail', 'Saddle Songs', and translations of Native American poetry, and criticism on the 'Bronze of Syracuse', and 'Cowboy Songs and Ballads'.[268] *Poetry* retained these preferences even after Pound renounced 'the dilution of *vers libre*, Amygism, Lee Masters-ism, general floppiness' and the movement was cast, at least by Pound, as 'temporary cleansing of the palate'.[269] Rather than a palate cleanser, at *Poetry* these aesthetics, informed by Imagist tendencies, were still the orthodoxy throughout the 1920s. As Winters put it:

> I write you thus out of pure affection: you are about three movements behind the times, and the present movement is really important. You ought to catch up. Your refusal to take risks is ridiculous. As your magazine now stands nothing could hurt it, and variety would at least be a change, and might even without your realizing it, result in something more.[270]

As Winters suggests, changes in literary tastes meant that Monroe's continued preference for Imagistic forms, coupled with her suspicion that European inspired avant-garde experiments would run contrary to her attempts to provide an organ 'for poetry in

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[265] Pound to Monroe, January 1915, in *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941*, ed. by D.D. Paige (New York: New Directions, 1971), p. 48.
[266] Cahill, *Harriet Monroe,* p. 85.
[267] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', p. 35-36.
[268] Muna Lee, 'Bronze of Syracuse, rev. George Santayana, *Poems*', *Poetry*, 23.6 (March 1924), pp. 338-341; Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, 'The Santa Fé Trail- A Humoresque', *Poetry*, 4.4 (July 1914), pp. 132-138; Alice Corbin Henderson, 'Buffalo Dance', *Poetry*, 9.5 (February 1917), pp. 235-36; Vachel Lindsay, 'Niagra', *Poetry*, 10.4 (July 1917), pp. 172-174; Carl Sandburg, 'Prairie', *Poetry*, 12.4 (July 1918), pp. 175-184; Ottys Sanders, 'Indian Blue Bonnets', *Poetry*, 26.2 (May 1925), pp. 62-69; Stanley Vestal, 'Saddle Songs', *Poetry*, 26.4 (July 1925), pp. 177-79; Henderson, *Poetry,* 10.5 (August 1917), pp. 255-259; Henderson, 'Indian Songs', *Poetry*, 9.5 (February 1917), pp. 235-36.
[269] Pound as quoted in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: Volume 7, Modernism and the New Critics*, ed. by A Walton Litz, Louis Menand and Lawrence Rainey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 85; Litz and Rainey, in 'Ezra Pound', ibid., p. 85.
[270] Winters to Monroe, 27 November 1926, *Dear Editor*, p. 277; Winters to Monroe, 28 June 1927, *Dear Editor*, p. 278.

America', made the journal seem dated.[271] In an article 'Why Not Laugh?', published in January 1929, Monroe commented on the 'New York sophisticates'—of which Crane the '*Secessionist*' was, presumably, one—that were 'so near to Europe and so far from America!':

> And the movements and groups and isms, born to save the world or the day or the art—futurism, cubism, impressionism, symbolism, imagism, realism, *sur-réalisme*—is there not always one of these revolutions to laugh at.[272]

Poetry seemed concerned that the American poets experimenting with these forms were in some way 'servile' (as Crane put it) and too 'near' to European letters.[273] This reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of the founding principles of *Secession*, *Broom*, *Gargoyle,* and *transition*. Influenced by the backgrounds of many of their editors and contributors in *The Pagan*, where a cosmopolitan modernism could still be distinctly American and not 'servile', the 'exile' journals aimed to show the mutual influences between American writers and their 'allied Frenchmen'—something, to take one example, that Soupault emphasised in his article for *Broom* on the influence of 'modern mechanics' of 'U.S.A. Cinema' on his poetry and prose.[274]

In 'Looking Backward' in the October 1928 number, Monroe discussed *Poetry*'s then sixteen-year career and subtly linked the poetic move away from 'the simplification process' of the magazine's early years towards 'unintelligibility' to the 'oscillations' of French poetry. Monroe picks out journals that were frequently publishing work in translation from Europeans for negative comment, *The Little Review*, *The Fugitive* and *transition*, and noted that the 'groups' they were publishing '[we] might reasonably call the Intellectualists if we had a Frenchman's talent for labels' and were working against the dominant impulse in the early years of her journal that attempted to bring poetry 'closer to life, to modern subjects, people and interests.'[275] Monroe goes on to single out poets that she found particularly guilty of perpetuating the fashion for 'unintelligibility':

> The later Ezra Pound of the *Cantos*, William Carlos Williams, Hart Crane, Allen Tate, Laura Riding, Yvor Winters, and others who follow the lead of some of these, seem scornful of the *profanum vulgus* as any aristocrat of the Augustan age […] At least, whether these poets openly confess this feeling or not, their preference.[276]

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[271] Monroe, 'Motive of the Magazine', p, 27.
[272] Monroe, 'Why Not Laugh?', p. 209. It is also worth noting how late Monroe's comment on these movements comes—a full eight years after Munson and Josephson discussed the founding of *Secession*, and fourteen years after Stieglitz founded his Dadaist *291* in New York.
[273] Crane to Munson, *Letters*, pp. 33-35 (p. 35).
[274] See Chapter II pp. 54-81. Soupault, 'U.S.A. Cinema', *Broom*, 2.2 (July 1922), pp. 65-69 (p. 65).
[275] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', p. 35-36. Monroe's grouping *The Fugitive* (which was, principally, interested in a 'Southern Renaissance') alongside *The Little Review* and *transition,* over, for instance journals that shared more contributors and a similar outlook (i.e. *Secession* or *Broom)* betrays how disconnected she seems to have been from this younger generation.
[276] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', ibid.

Monroe picks up on the association of these poets with avant-garde, small readership journals here, adding that:

> Once more we have 'the doctrine of folding-in, the closure, the esoteric—the aristocrat conception of the Poet, the ancient spirit of caste.' The poet deliberately aims at being unintelligible to all but specialists, deliberately discards all the common aids which the ordinary reader is accustomed to, such as punctuation, capitalization, grammar, syntax, sentence-structure, etc., telescoping the English language into hints, exclamations, tip-toeing the high spits of his mood.[277]

For Crane, Munson and Josephson, however, this was a point of pride, with Crane referring to the founding of *Secession* as a emblematic of a developing 'aristocracy of taste' within the U.S. poetry scene.[278] Crane was, then, with his reputation as a '*Secessionist*' and more general association with the 'exile' journals exactly this kind of 'scornful', 'specialist' poet.[279]

By contrast, Helen Birch Bartlett's 'October in Illinois', published in the same number as Crane's 'At Melville's Tomb' and the 'Discussion', reflects Monroe's tastes for local subjects, and demonstrates the aesthetic preferences behind her questions in the 'Discussion'. Bartlett's poem is, as Winters would put it, 'three movements behind', and is derivative of Imagist experiments from the 1910s (including Crane's own 'October-November) and reads:

> October—
> A blood-red line,
> Low in the western sky—
>
> Grey everywhere—
>
> Cold and clear
> The frozen yellow fields—
> Nearness and distance interchangeable—[280]

Crane was, for Monroe, the 'inevitable reaction' to the 'simplification process' that was, in turn, a reaction to the aestheticism of the previous generation of poetry. Monroe's criticisms in 'Looking Backward' on the return to this kind of aestheticism resonate with her specific complaints about Crane in the 'Discussion'. The complex, associative

[277] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', pp. 35-36.
[278] Crane to Munson, 16 May 1922, *Letters*, p. 87.
[279] Monroe, 'Looking Backward', p. 35-36.
[280] Bartlett, 'October in Illinois', *Poetry,* 29.1 (October 1926), p. 18.

metaphors of 'At Melville's Tomb' did not, then, sit well among some of the other contributions to the magazine. Monroe singled out these lines in the 'Discussion':

> And wrecks passed without sound of bells,
> The calyx of death's bounty giving back
> A scattered chapter, livid hieroglyph,
> The portent wound in corridors of shells.[281]

Monroe wrote:

> [T]ell me how *dice* can *bequeath an embassy* (or anything else) and how a calyx (*of death's bounty* or anything else) can give back a *scattered chapter, livid hieroglyph* and how, if it does, such a *portent* can be *wound in corridors* (of shells or anything else). [Emphasis in original.]

Monroe's slightly arch, faux-naïve tone does not mask her misreading of this stanza, and of the poem as a whole. In this second stanza, Crane is commenting on the formal properties of the 'logic of metaphor', and even more clearly than in 'The Wine Menagerie'. This, once again, shows Crane linking the 'logic' (as a form of collage through juxtaposed metaphors) to his interest in fragment forms with the phrase 'scattered chapter'. 'Hieroglyph' is Crane's fairly simple analogy for his associative mode. Crane explains this to Monroe, noting that his gloss is necessarily a 'poor substitute for any organized conception that one has fancied he has put into the more essentialized form of the poem itself.'[282] A 'hieroglyph' being 'a figure of some object, as a tree, animal etc., standing for a word' is an ideal analogy for Crane's 'logic', which, through its associative construction, he aimed to use to present the reader with a 'single new word'.[283] Crane explains further:

> I'll beg your indulgence and come at once to the explanations you request on the Melville poem:
>
> > 'The dice of drowned men's bones he saw bequeath
> > An embassy.'
>
> Dice bequeath an embassy, in the first place, by being ground (in this connection only, of course) in little cubes from the bones of drowned men by the action of the sea, and are finally thrown up on the sand, having 'numbers' but no identification. These being the bones of dead men who have never completed their voyage, it seems legitimate to refer to them as the only surviving evidence of certain messages undelivered.[284]

The 'surviving evidence of certain messages undelivered' of the 'wreck' is analogous to Crane's concern for exactly the kind of reading displayed by Monroe. Here readings of the

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[281] Crane, 'At Melville's Tomb', p. 25, ll. 5-8.
[282] Crane, 'Discussion', p. 35.
[283] 'hieroglyph' *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/86804?rskey=U8gbfb&result=1&isAdvanced=false> accessed 20. 11. 15.
Crane, 'General Aims', *Poems and Letters*, pp. 160-164.
[284] Crane, 'Discussion', p. 38.

poem have the potential to be lost ('undelivered') through the self-conscious risks Crane takes with his compressed metaphors through their own 'scattered' links and associations.

Crane begins his response to Monroe with a literal explanation of 'the double ironic sense' of the meaning of 'calyx' as 'both a cornucopia and the vortex made by the sinking vessel', but then goes on to explicitly outline the metaphorical construction of the poem:

> My poem may well be elliptical and actually obscure in the ordering of its content, but in your criticism of this very possible deficiency you have stated your objections in terms that allow me, at least for the moment, the privilege of claiming your ideas and ideals as theoretically, at least, quite outside the issues of my own aspirations. To put it more plainly, as a poet I may very possibly be more interested in the so-called illogical impingements of the connotations of words on the consciousness (and their combinations and interplay in metaphor on this basis) than I am interested in the preservation of their logically rigid significations at the cost of limiting my subject matter and perceptions involved in the poem.[285]

Crane takes pains to mention the importance of discussions in other literary journals in shaping his 'dynamics of metaphor', and, significantly, he uses the phrase 'the logic of metaphor' publicly here for the first time here. Most likely, he had debates aired in *Secession*, *Broom,* and *1924* in mind as he added that, 'This argument over the dynamics of metaphor promises as active a future as has been evinced in the past.'[286]

Similar to Moore's suggestion that Crane omit the fourth stanza (a quarter of the poem) on his submission of 'At Melville's Tomb' to *The Dial*, this final stanza also bore the brunt of Monroe's complaints.[287] After his subtle suggestion that Monroe might not be appraised of the discussions he had in mind as they were published in avant-garde journals, Crane moves on Monroe's 'arbitrary concerns' over particular images', including 'how a *portent* could possibly be wound in a *shell*', by comparing metaphors from Blake and Eliot:

> I ask you how Blake could possibly say that 'a *sigh* is a *sword* of an Angel King'. You ask me how *compass, quadrant and sextant 'contrive'* tides. I ask you how Eliot can possibly believe that 'Every street *lamp* that I pass *beats* like a fatalistic *drum!*' Both of my metaphors may fall down completely. I'm not defending their actual value in themselves; but your criticism of them in each case was levelled at an illogicality of relationship between symbols, which similar fault you must have either overlooked in case you have ever admired the Blake and Eliot lines, or have condoned them on

[285] Ibid., p. 35-6.
[286] Ibid., p. 36.
[287] Moore to Crane, 10 December 1923, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

> account of some more ultimate convictions pressed on you by the impact of the poems in their entirety. [Emphases in original.][288]

Crane is subtly questioning the grounds of Monroe's objections to his 'obscurity' and 'illogic'. Here his publishing relationships with *Broom*, *The Little Review*, *1924,* and *Secession* are useful to bear in mind, given their interest in proto-Surrealist experiments with metaphor, and Munson's comments on 'inescapable […] esotericism'.[289] The question of whether or not a poetic image is or is not logical (using Blake and Eliot to make the point) is irrelevant and 'outside of [his] aspirations'; Crane is more interested in the 'interplay [of] metaphor'. 'Bones' cannot literally 'bequeath' an 'embassy' of ideas that can reconstruct the 'scattered chapter' of the history of the wreck, but his meaning is nonetheless clear. Crane's approach to Monroe's accusations of illogic (later picked up on in articles by Max Eastman on Crane's 'unintelligibility', which also cited Joyce and Stein) is to dismiss the claim on the grounds on which it is based.[290] This is a tactic that has been underused in criticism of Crane, which has tended to dwell on what is or is not 'obscure' or 'logical', or a 'failure', rather than questioning the appropriateness of these types of measurements for poetry. These charges all imply that there is an ideal that Crane's poetry is being measured against, and found lacking, i.e. an ideal poetic logic, success, or a particular allowable kind of difficulty for some, but not all poets, as Crane himself makes clear through his examples taken from a poet he assumes Monroe admired, Blake (who received regular critical attention in *Poetry*[291]), and Eliot, a relatively established poet, already venerated by Crane's avant-garde contemporaries, and the subject of frequent discussion in *Poetry*.[292] While narratives of Monroe and Moore's interventions have, perhaps rightly, expressed affront regarding the edit and the 'Discussion',[293] it remains that equally censorious questions (rooted in these same desires for poetic rationality and 'restraint') abound even in recent criticism of Crane.[294]

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[288] Crane, 'Discussion', p. 37.
[289] Munson, 'The Esotericism of T.S. Eliot', p. 3.
[290] Max Eastman, 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', pp. 632-39.
[291] E.g. then foreign editor, Pound, on Blake: 'divinely sent to deliver us' from 'imaginative reason' in '*Odes et Prières*', review of Jules Romains, *Odes et Prières* (1913), *Poetry*, 2.5 (August 1913), pp. 187-89 (p. 187).
[292] See, among others, Marion Strobel, 'Perilous Leaping', review of T. S. Eliot, *Poems* (1920), *Poetry*, 16.3 (June 1920), pp. 157-159. The subject of Eliot's reputation is complex, but he was, at least, venerated by many in Crane's circles, as Munson picks up on in 'The Esotericism of T. S. Eliot' in *1924*. See footnote 182 in Chapter II. Also see Martin Dodsworth, 'Contemporary Reviews' in *T. S. Eliot in Context*, ed. by Jason Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 349-358.
[293] See footnote 9 (Chapter III).
[294] See footnote 333 (IV).

b. Monroe's editing interventions and reviewing *White Buildings*

Monroe's interrogation of Crane's associative use of metaphor was a source of great irritation to Yvor Winters, who acted as an intermediary for Crane with *Poetry*.[295] Winters also contributed to the journal, and was an occasional, although unofficial, editorial advisor, and had written to Monroe urging her to publish whatever Crane sent of *The Bridge*.[296] Winters had persuaded Monroe to publish 'At Melville's Tomb' after she had written to him for advice in the Spring of 1926. In July 1928, Monroe wrote a letter to Crane on his recent submission, 'Moment Fugue', that echoed the points made in the 'Discussion'. The letter, which Crane then forwarded to Winters, read:

> Can't you throw a [sop?] to [Cerberus?] pointing out verbs and subjects in this poem ['Moment Fugue'] From his eyes we get it all right, and there is something lovely there. I enclose a few of our attempts to find the [?] of those opening lines! Do send the poem back, just a little changed. Of course I know that grammar is in the discard nowadays, but intelligibility still has a few [nights?]—maybe. [Transcription of a letter in Monroe's hand, original formatting.][297]

Winters was so irritated by Monroe's response that he wrote to her enclosing a sarcastic gloss that also took aim at her comments in the 'Discussion'. Winters 'parse[d] the thing', and facetiously took note of each part of speech used in the poem: 'the syphilitic (adj. used as noun)', 'selling—pres. part. mod. subj.'.[298] Winters's implication was that Monroe was being wilfully obtuse in her readings of Crane, and he clearly saw Crane as a reliable index of modern editorial policy. Crucially, he referred to Crane's assimilative mode—often incorporating fin de siècle details—as he commented that Monroe, like Moore with her edits of 'The Wine Menagerie', had:

> decided early in your editorial career that all the poetry of the past was ipso facto affected and ridiculous and hence not to be read […] See any English classics for precedent. Or simply see any of the English classics for a few elementary notions of style in general.[299]

For Winters, Monroe's 'sidestepping' of Crane is indicative of her wider 'alienat[ion] of the best poets of [the] generation' and was, as he put it rather emphatically, indicative of the

[295] As well as recommending the publication of 'At Melville's Tomb', Winters had written to Monroe in November 1926 flagging Crane's work on *The Bridge*, with the note 'it is one of the supreme great poems of our time.' Winters to Monroe, 27 November 1926, *Dear Editor*, p. 77.
[296] Winters to Monroe, 27 November 1926, *Dear Editor*, p. 277.
[297] Monroe to Crane, 18 July 1928, box 7, Crane Papers (New York).
[298] Winters to Monroe, 31 July 1928, *Dear Editor,* p. 279-280.
[299] Ibid.

magazine 'sliding' to the 'dogs' as a result of its inability to react to changes in literary movements and magazine culture.[300]

Nevertheless, Monroe's questions in the 'Discussion', were echoed by a number of reviews of *White Buildings*, and in later comments on *The Bridge*. As Taggard made clear in her review of *White Buildings*, the 'Discussion' was crucial to her approach to Crane's poetry. Taggard makes much of Crane's 'mistake' in allowing Monroe to publish the 'Discussion'. She writes:

> I have followed his work for several years and read, besides, his controversy with Harriet Monroe over a poem included in this volume, entitled 'At Melville's Tomb,' where Mr Crane made the mistake of explaining in prose what his verse was trying to do. However sincere his explanation, it was a mistake to make it.[301]

Taggard's point that 'no poem should require such a defense' is telling of how the 'Discussion' framed Crane's work for readers of *Poetry*. It sets Crane up, as Taggard points out, as a poet in need of explanation and Monroe's language from the 'Discussion' can be detected in Taggard's review:

> He proceeds from one mixed metaphor to another, image on image, and we almost allow him his way with us because he makes together with a confusion of images, a perfect gaunt and stately music.[302]

The charges of 'confusion', layering 'image on image', and 'mixed metaphors', rooted in modernist criticisms of Decadent poetry, recall Monroe's complaints, and Moore's reasoning behind her edit. Not all of Crane's reviewers followed this pattern. Crane did get more positive appraisals in the *Times Literary Supplement* (likely to have been written by Edgell Rickword who regularly reviewed American poetry for the *TLS*[303]), and a three page 'nota' from Antonio Marichalar which compared Crane to Whitman and Blake, drawing attention to the 'synthetic construction' of his 'visionary' poetry.[304] In his review in *The New Republic* Frank mounted a defence against the negative reviews of the volume writing that 'the obscurity of Hart Crane is his creative temper. If you go in a geometrical mood to

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[300] Winters to Monroe, 1 October 1930; 28 January 1920, *Dear Editor*, pp. 291, 245.
[301] Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber', p. 4.
[302] Taggard, ibid.
[303] The *Times Literary Supplement Index* also does not list an author. *TLS Index*, I (A-K) (Reading: Newspaper Archive Developments Limited, 1978), p. 363; Rickword did, however, review a number of American poets for the *TLS* and the tone and style of the *White Buildings* review is consistent with his review of, for instance: 'An American Poet', review of Edwin Arlington Robinson, *Collected Poems* (1922), *The Times Literary Supplement,* 1082 (12 October 1922), p. 639; 'Many Marriages', review of Sherwood Anderson, *Many Marriages* (1923), *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1124 (2 August 1923), p. 518.
[304] Unsigned, '*White Buildings'*, review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *London Times Literary Supplement,* 1308 (24 February 1927), p. 130; Antonio Marichalar, 'Hart Crane', pp. 260-63; Winters, 'Hart Crane's Poems', pp. 47-51.

Michelangelo, you will find them, too, obscure'.[305] Frank was responding to reviews that shared Monroe and Moore's view of Crane: *The Yale Review* commented that 'what we could understand of "White Buildings" seemed often redolent of poetry, but there was much that we could not understand, even after three readings.'[306] Similarly, Herbert S. Gorman wrote in review pages of *The New York Times* that 'Hart Crane's *White Buildings* is, perhaps, more esoteric [than John Crowe Ransom's *Two Gentlemen in Bonds*, reviewed in the same piece]; indeed, most of the time it is incomprehensible so far as the actual thought-content goes.'[307] Conrad Aiken's anonymous review in *The Dial* expressed the zeitgeist of these immediate appraisals of Crane, and his focus on his 'affectations of idiom' recalls Moore's motivations for her edit. Tellingly, Moore had rejected Winters's positive—and lengthy— review of *White Buildings*, choosing Aiken's abrasive 'Briefer Mention':

> Mr Crane has ability: he makes good phrases, and is capable of writing excellent blank verse; but he seldom writes a completely satisfactory poem. Partly this is due to certain affectations of idiom, to a straining and self-conscious and disingenuous precocity; partly it is perhaps occasioned by an unreflecting indulgence in what one might call high-class intellectual fake. When Mr Crane writes less pretentiously, he is more successful, as in 'In Shadow' and the second part of 'Voyages'. The latter has great beauty, both colour and movement.[308]

Aiken pre-empts Winters's appraisal of Crane in *Primitivism and Decadence*, and echoes the sentiments of Moore's edit, and her appraisal of Crane's poetry as 'false knowledge', as well as criticisms of Decadent writing that appeared in *The Dial*.[309] Winters's comments in his influential piece in *Primitivism and Decadence*, 'The Significance of *The Bridge*', are complicated by his ideas about 'the morality of poetry', and, as such, contain similarly unpalatable views as Moore's, where Crane's homosexuality is equated with a general sense of 'Decadence' of character and lack of discipline which then reveals itself in his poetry.[310] Winters's comments on Crane's 'obscurity', and 'figurative' use of 'term[s]' 'that he has probably never endeavoured to define' and his 'gift of style without the gift of thought', nonetheless

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[305] Frank, 'The Poetry of Hart Crane', *The New Republic*, 50.641(March 16 1927), pp. 116-17.
[306] Frederick E. Pierce, 'Four Poets', *The Yale Review*, 1.17 (2 October 1927), pp. 166-169 (p. 167).
[307] Herbert Gorman, 'Tradition and Experiment in Modern Poetry,' review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), New *York Times* (27 March 1927), p. 2.
[308] Parkinson, *Hart Crane and Yvor Winters,* p. 52; Aiken's authorship verified in *Dial* archives—a galley proof has Aiken's name signed to it, dated 14 February 1927, box 9, folder 305, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven). Aiken, 'Briefer Mention: *White Buildings*', p. 432.
[309] Winters, *In Defense of Reason: Primitivism and Decadence, a Study of American Experimental Poetry* (Denver: Alan Swallow, 1947); Williams to Pound, commenting on Moore's views of Crane, 12 July 1928, box 55, folder 2518, Ezra Pound Papers (New Haven).
[310] See Winters's disbelief at Crane's claim to him in a letter that he had 'never in his life done anything of which he had been ashamed', Winters, *Primitivism and Decadence*, p. 590.

reflect these early reactions to Crane's influences from the unfashionable 'disastrous decade', despite his emphasis on the influences of Whitman and Emerson on *The Bridge*.[311]

The Saturday Review also frequently derided the volume from its review pages, to the extent that Crane declared the journal the 'enemy camp'.[312] Canby's journal tapped into an underlying issue Crane had with both *Poetry* and *The Dial*, but also crept into wider reviews of his poetry: the sense that he was, as Monroe put it, writing for a specific and sympathetic audience of small readership, avant-garde journals and was 'unintelligible to all but specialists' and therefore 'unintelligible' to editors such as Monroe and Moore.[313] *The Saturday Review* commented on this in a complaint about other reviews of *White Buildings*, noting that Crane was 'clapped for' only in 'the most select circles' and, as Taggard put it: 'Mr Crane needs rescuing from his admirers.'[314]

Nonetheless, it was only after Crane began appearing regularly in *The Dial* and *Poetry* that he began getting poetry accepted in, as Jane Heap termed them in an editorial for *The Little Review*, 'smart journals' (although the appointment of Cowley as an assistant editor at *The New Republic*, and Zabel's regular reviews for *The Nation* may have also facilitated these publications).[315] The 'smart journals' were wide-circulation, liberal magazines with more peripheral interests in literature. These journals tended to publish work by established poets; for example, Moore first appeared in *The Nation* in 1936, and in *The New Republic* in 1943.[316] Publishing in these magazines no doubt helped to consolidate Crane's broader reputation. *The Saturday Review of Literature*, which was a supplement to the *New York Evening Post*, had a circulation of around 20,000. In 1925, *The New Republic* had around 14,500 subscriptions, but, during the 1920s, could sell 45,000 copies of a single issue, while *The Nation*, where Carl and Irita van Doren were literary editors, had a circulation of around 25,000.[317] For Crane, these were opportunistic publications where he had limited engagement with their wider contents. Crane's poetry and reviews of his volumes appeared in *The Saturday Review*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*, while *Vanity Fair* featured Crane in an article in September 1929 titled 'Singers of the New Age: A Group of Distinguished

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311 Ibid., pp. 597, 600.
312 Crane to the Crosbys, 30 August 1929, *OML*, p. 415.
313 Monroe, 'Looking Backward', pp. 35-36.
314 Benét, 'The Phoenix Nest', (2 April 1927), p. 708; Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber', p. 4.
315 Cowley wrote for *The New Republic* from 1926, but became an editor in 1929, Cowley, 'Murder, Piracy and Justice', *The New Republic,* 45.585 (17 February 1926), pp. 362-63; Zabel began with 'Swinburne's Place', *The Nation,* 128.3330 (1 May 1929), p. 536.
316 Moore, 'It is not forbidden to think', rev. T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems*, *The Nation*, 142.3699 (27 May 1936), pp. 680-81; Moore, 'Elephants', *The New Republic*, 109.8 (23 August 1943), pp. 250-51.
317 Eric Pace, 'Norman Cousins', obituary, *The New York Times* (1 December 1990). <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/12/01/obituaries/norman-cousins-75-dies-edited-the-saturday-review.html> accessed 27 August 2016; David W. Levey, *Herbert Croly and "The New Republic"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 288; D. D. Guttenplan, "*The Nation": A Biography* (New York: The Nation Publishing Company, 2015), unpaginated ebook.

Poets Who Have Found Fresh Material in the American Scene'.[318] On the 29 June, 1927 'To Emily Dickinson' appeared in *The Nation*, followed by 'Old Song' in *The New Republic*. In March 1930 the 'old enemy camp, *The Saturday Review,* published 'Cape Hatteras'.[319] Then, in July 1931 *The New Republic* published 'The Hurricane', and in June 1932 (but submitted before Crane's death) 'The Broken Tower'.[320]

The Dial and *Poetry* were both significant in shaping Crane's poetic reputation, in terms of how his aesthetics were received in critical articles and reviews of *White Buildings*, *The Bridge* and even the 1933 *Complete Poems,* and in forming the wider arc of his career, as he began to appear in less specialised journals with broader readerships. By 1932, Crane appeared in *Contempo* heralded as a guiding influence for the younger contributors to the journal.[321] *The Dial* and *Poetry* were crucial to *The Bridge* publications during the late 1920s, and would have been sympathetic to its American subject matter. Crane's affiliations with the 'exile' journals and the corresponding developments in his poetry form the basis of his uneasy relationships with *The Dial* and *Poetry* in the late 1920s. Both Moore and Monroe exhibited scepticism towards Crane's 'logic of metaphor' in both private correspondence and through their editing interventions. Crucially, the conventions established by Moore and Monroe were reflected in reviews of *White Buildings,* and can even be traced through later criticism with ideas of the 'logic of metaphor' as 'illogical', 'confused', or 'affected' reoccurring in later criticism, and all underpinned by this argument put forward to Monroe, and picked up on by *The Saturday Review,* that, rooted in Crane's publishers in the early 1920s, argues that he writes 'specialist', 'unintelligible' poetry. This was crystallised by Eastman in 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', which builds on Monroe's 'Looking Backward'. Eastman found Crane, along with Cummings, Joyce, Stein and Edith Sitwell, deliberately 'uncommunicative', and withholding meaning from the reader:

> If you pick up a book by […] any of the 'modernists,' and read a page innocently, I think the first feeling you will have is that the author isn't telling you anything. Or it may seem that he knows something, but he won't tell.[322]

Crane's case is especially interesting in that it shows the connection between his affiliation with the avant-garde 'exile' journals and perceptions of his 'unintelligibility' or specialism. An assessment of these relationships is, then, revealing both of shifts in Crane's poetry, and

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[318] Crane, 'To Emily Dickinson', *The Nation*, 124.3234 (29 June 1927), p. 718; 'The Hurricane', *The New Republic*, 67.869 (29 July 1931), p. 277; Unsigned, 'Singers of the New Age: A Group of Distinguished Poets Who Have Found Fresh Material in the American Scene', *Vanity Fair,* 33.1 (September 1929), p. 89.
[319] Crane, 'Cape Hatteras' *The Saturday Review*, 6.34 (15 March 1930), p. 821.
[320] Crane, 'The Hurricane', 67.869 (29 July 1931), p. 277; 'The Broken Tower', *The New Republic*, 71.914 (8 June 1932), p. 91.
[321] Crane, 'Dear Contempo', 'Bacardi Spreads the Eagle's Wings', *Contempo,* 2.4 (5 July 1932), p. 1.
[322] Eastman, 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', p. 632.

of *The Dial*'s and *Poetry*'s reputations, and their interactions with more specialised journals. Despite Crane's irritation with the 'Again' edit, its appearance did preface a series of publications in *The Dial* after three years of rejections. This, alongside his newly established relationship with *Poetry*, gave Crane the necessary exposure to also publish in the 'smart journals', and, crucially, opened up new publishing opportunities for *The Bridge* outside of specialist, less widely read publications.

IV

Publishing a Fragmentary Whole: *The Bridge*

> Many a work of art whose coherence is never questioned is, as the artist knows quite well himself, not a complete work but a fragment, or one or more fragments, a mass, a plan.
>
> Friedrich Schlegel, Critical Fragment 103.[1]

> Like spears ensanguined of one tolling star
> That bleeds infinity—the orphic strings,
> Sidereal phalanxes, leap and converge:
> —One Song, one Bridge of Fire!
>
> Hart Crane, from 'Atlantis', *The Bridge*.[2]

Reviewing *The Bridge* in *Hound & Horn* in the summer of 1930, Allen Tate commented on how the poem's fragmentary form related to its reception in contemporary journals. 'The fifteen poems, taken as one poem, suffer from the lack of a coherent plot', wrote Tate, adding that 'it is difficult to agree with those critics who find the work a single poem and as such an artistic success.'[3] Although Tate's remarks stemmed, in part, from his own stricter definition of the epic genre (later he wrote that the poem was 'presumably' intended as 'an epic'), his comments also reflect how *The Bridge* was first presented publicly, as thirteen fragments published in seven periodicals between 1927 and 1930.[4] In 1930 Crane told *The Wilson Bulletin* that 'by the autumn of 1925, this plan [for *The Bridge*] had attained a definite pattern', then in March 1926 he provisionally outlined the sections in a letter to Otto Kahn.[5] Despite Crane's plans, the fragments were not published as they were completed, or in the order that Crane designed for the volume edition.[6] Instead, the poem effectively appeared in two different forms: fragmented in periodicals, and then re-assembled in the 1930 edition, with 283 copies of the Black Sun volume going on sale in February 1930 and

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[1] Friedrich Schlegel, 'Critical Fragment 103', *Lucinde and the Fragments*, trans. by Peter Firchow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), p. 156.
[2] Crane, 'Atlantis', *The Bridge,* pp. 105-108 (p. 106), ll. 90-93.
[3] Tate, 'A Distinguished Poet: *The Bridge*', *The Hound & Horn*, 1.3 (July-September 1930), pp. 580-85 (pp. 580, 583).
[4] Tate, 'American Mind', pp. 215, 211.
[5] As told to *The Wilson Bulletin for Librarians,* Unsigned, 'Hart Crane: Author of *The Bridge*', *Wilson Bulletin for Librarians,* 5 (October 1930), p. 104; Crane to Kahn, 18 March 1926, box 4, Crane Papers, (New York).
[6] 'Atlantis' was the first to be completed, but was not submitted to a journal or published before the 1930 volume. See Crane to Frank, 26 July 1926, *OML,* p. 265.

1,000 of the Liveright six weeks later—the sudden release of the Liveright causing problems for Crosby's reviews.[7] Although the poems that comprise *White Buildings* were published in a variety of different journals, generic distinctions require that this earlier text is considered differently to *The Bridge* in terms of how publishing affects an assembled volume. Simply put: there is, generically and aesthetically, a fundamental difference between retrospectively collecting poems into a volume (Crane's procedure for *White Buildings*) and planning a long poem and dismantling it for publication. *Key West* is different once again in that, although Crane was readying the sheaf for publication in the months before his death, his archives show a clear indecision regarding variants and arrangement, and he had a habit of making, sometimes drastic, last minute changes prior to publication, as in his addition of marginalia to *The Bridge* as the volume was due to be printed.[8] Because *Key West* remained unpublished during Crane's lifetime his final intentions for the volume cannot be verified, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw meaningful conclusions about differences between journal versions and *Key West* as it appeared in the 1933 *Complete Poems*, edited by Waldo Frank. Publishing became, then, part of the programme of *The Bridge* and has an effect on a reading of the texts irrespective of Crane's motivations. This process left something of the ruins of the poem on either side of the Atlantic; the publishing procedure emphasises the formal fragmentation of the poem through the geographical spread of journals. Publishing this, as Crane called it, 'spiritual and natural' representation of 'the body of America' in Europe engages with debates surrounding directions of influence between U.S. and European literature (as explored in Chapter II).[9]

Crane structured *The Bridge* in fifteen parts linked through the continual repetition of interlocking images and rhythmic patterns; the text at once strains against its subject (the bridge being, traditionally, a symbol of connection) through the internal dissonance of its formal arrangement, while being stitched together through linguistic and formal patterning. Phrases dispersed within the text operate both as links and disruptions; the interjection of the jaunty rhythm of 'fandaddle daddy don't ask for change' in 'The Tunnel' operates both as an interruption and as a link to a network of similar phrases scattered within the text, such as 'O Stamboul Rose dreams weave the rose' in 'Cutty Sark'.[10] Criticism of *The Bridge* has, unsurprisingly, privileged the volume version of the text, but an assessment of Crane's curious decision to publish *The Bridge* in this preliminary form, with close attention to the

[7] Caresse Crobsy to Crane, 3 April 1930, box six, Crane Papers (New York); Crane, *The Bridge* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930); Crane, *The Bridge* (Paris: Black Sun, 1930); Crane to Isidor Schneider 1 May 1929, *OML*, pp. 405-406.
[8] See footnotes 200 and 227 (Chapter IV).
[9] Crane to Kahn, 18 March 1926, *OML,* p. 232.
[10] Crane, 'The Tunnel', *The Criterion*, 6.5 (November 1927), pp. 398-404 (p. 399), l. 51; Crane 'Cutty Sark', *transition*, 1.3 (June 1927), pp. 116-119 (p. 116), l. 13.

periodical contexts of these journals, enables a re-evaluation of the poem and its immediate reception.

Whether or not *The Bridge* can be considered an 'epic', or a failed attempt at the genre, has been debated by Crane's critics since its first reviews. Crane consistently emphasised the link between the poem's structure and his presentation of this 'grand synthesis' of America in letters but, his error, perhaps, was—among a crowd of metaphors for the poem—describing *The Bridge* in epic terms in letters to critics who would review the volume in influential journals, introducing a set of expectations for its interpretation. As he wrote to Winters:

> Perhaps any modern equivalent of the old epic form should be called by some other name, for certainly, as I see it, the old definition cannot cover the kind of poem I am trying to write except on certain fundamental points.[11]

Winters held Crane to these comments—despite Crane's equivocations—and complained that the poem 'lack[ed] the formal unity of the epic'.[12] Crane is, though, strikingly reluctant to straightforwardly categorise *The Bridge* in this way. His point that the 'modern equivalent' of the 'epic' would need a new 'name' shows that Crane was wary of the effect of such a generic classification on the reception of his highly experimental poem; these worries were borne out in Winters's criticisms, and in Tate's complaint that the poem lacked a 'coherent plot'. [13] A popular book of critical terms from 1923 defines the 'essentials' of the genre as: '(1) that its action should be one, great, and entire; (2) that its hero should be distinguished, and move our concern' and, perhaps most crucially for *The Bridge*, and hinting at what might have been most unsettling for its reviewers: '(3) that the episodes should easily arise from the main fable, i.e. *there should be no parts detachable without loss to the whole*.' [14] By 'fundamentals', though, Crane meant 'foundation' or 'groundwork', but, quite specifically, not the structure built on top. *The Bridge* was epic in 'theme' and, as he noted to his publisher when asked for a summary of the completed text in 1930, bore a 'close

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[11] Crane to Winters, 15 November 1926, *OML*, pp. 287-89 (p. 287). Nowhere outside of private correspondence did he compare *The Bridge* to an 'epic'. A biography in *Twentieth Century Poetry*, which contains details directly from Crane, notes he was working on a 'long poem'. The editors, 'Hart Crane', *Twentieth Century Poetry*, p. 572.

[12] Winters, 'Progress', p. 153.

[13] Elsewhere Crane wrote *The Bridge* was: 'a symphony with an epic *theme,*' to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* pp. 344-350 (p. 349). The difficult issue of defining the epic genre here is, I think, more useful in assessing contemporary reactions to the poem than in attempting to unpick the poem itself. Nonetheless, I am following the *OED*: 'Pertaining to that species of poetical composition represented typically by the Illiad and Odyssey, which celebrates in the form of a continuous narrative the achievements of one or more heroic personages of history or tradition.' 'epic'. *OED Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/63237?redirectedFrom=epic> accessed 20. 11. 15; Reed, 'How to write an epic', *Lights*, pp. 126-166.

[14] My emphasis. 'Epic', George G. Loane, *A Short Handbook of Literary Terms* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1923), pp. 59-60 (p. 59).

resemblance' to the genre but, was not strictly an epic poem.[15] Although Crane might be dealing with a grand subject characteristic of the epic, he does not conform to the conventional 'continuous narrative' form, although he does toy with some of its apparatus, referring to 'To Brooklyn Bridge' as an 'invocation' in letters and styling this opening poem in supplication to the bridge as muse.[16] Although in a letter to Kahn Crane remarked that he saw the poem as 'an epic of the modern consciousness', these comparisons are perhaps best understood amongst the number of unstable, often inaccurate, analogies or comparisons Crane provided for the poem.[17] In this same letter to Kahn, for instance, the poem was at once an 'epic' as well as 'the Sistine chapel', 'a symphony' and 'a fugue'. Intriguingly, the same comparison was used by Pound for his 'long poem', which was also published in piecemeal form, *The Cantos*: 'Rather like, or unlike, subject and response and counter subject in fugue.'[18]

An analysis of how publishing history relates to the form and structure of poetry is, then, potentially more illuminating than attempting to read the poem against Crane's numerous unstable analogies, or attempting to pin down the genre of the poem.[19] The structure of *The Bridge* might be best viewed outside of the blurred parameters of the 'epic' and as structured according to the Cubistic principle of the 'convergence' of fragments into 'a mass, a plan'. This aesthetic principle is, then, reflected by the poem's scattered publications in journals. Rather than following a linear, progressive narrative form, *The Bridge* mirrors the tendency of Cubist paintings to self-consciously 'reject the traditional viewpoint perspective.'[20] This form went against the expectations of many of Crane's reviewers, judging from the numerous comments on the poem's lack of 'narrative framework' and 'formal unity'.

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[15] 'fundamental', OED *Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/75497?redirectedFrom=fundamental> accessed 20. 11. 15; Crane, Author Statement for Liveright, box 25, Crane Papers (New York).

[16] See footnote 13, Chapter IV.

[17] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* pp. 344-350 (p. 349); 'The form will be symphonic, something like "F and H" (Crane to Munson, 18 Feb, 1923); 'The verbal dynamics used and the spacious periodicity of the rythm [sic] unusually symphonic form' (Crane to Kahn, 18 March 1926); '[I] having found some liberation for my condensed metaphorical habit in a form as symphonic […] as this.' (Crane to Frank, 18 January 1926); 'I never felt such range and symphonic power before' (Crane to Munson, 18 February 1923) all in *OML,* pp. 131, 235, 226-7.

[18] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* pp. 344-350. Crane also describes 'Cutty Sark' as a 'fugue'. This was, notably, around the time Crane was writing 'Moment Fugue', published in *transition*, 1.15 (February 1929), p. 102; As quoted and discussed in: Ronald Bush, *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's "Cantos"* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), p. 9.

[19] i.e. then finding the poem a 'Wagnerian epic'. Reed, *Lights*, pp. 126-166; Niall Munro is also sceptical of using this generic classification: 'critics have persisted in labelling *The Bridge* as an epic', *Hart Crane's Queer Modernist Aesthetic* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), p. 78.

[20] 'Cubism', *OED Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45476?redirectedFrom=cubism> accessed 20. 11. 15.

i. Periodical Publications

a. The literary fragment and the structure of *The Bridge*

Incorporating Crane's idea of *The Bridge* as a 'symphony' of poetic fragments within a discussion of the poem's publishing history requires that a distinction be made between different fragmentary forms: principally, a distinction between the Romantic fragment, in Friedrich Schlegel's sense, and the fragmented text. Schlegel's definition of the literary fragment in the *Athenäums-Fragmente* is useful in unpicking how these discretely published texts might affect a reading of the reassembled volume. Schlegel defines the literary fragment as the 'work of art' ('Kunstwerk') that is 'complete' ('vollendet'), and 'distinct' ('abgesondert') that yet refers to, but has not been rent from, part of a larger text and is, thus, 'isolated' ('isoliert').[21] Schlegel's definition of the fragment, taken from *Athenäums-Fragmente* 206, is as follows:

> A fragment, akin to a small work of art, must be quite distinct from the surrounding world, a finished thing in and of itself.[22]

Here, 'isolated' entails that the fragment text (with an emphasis on the 'fragment' as a distinct document) does not refer to a written text, from which it has been taken, but might be 'lightly disguised' as a 'recovered fragment', and is also not in anticipation of an actual completed text, but might be presented as unfinished.[23] For instance, in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan, or, a Vision in a Dream, A Fragment' the 'unfinished' state becomes crucial to the poem's form.[24] The 'very boundaries' of the fragment text are 'seen to be contested and indeterminate' as the incompleteness of the poem is 'announced'.[25] Using *The Bridge* publications Crane plays with this idea of the fragment of the unfinished text that nods to the fragment form used by Shelley and Coleridge that, as Michael Bradshaw puts it, makes 'an issue of incompletion, not only of apologising for, but actively displaying their failures to resolve texts—and publishing them.'[26] In these forms, the fragment is 'isolated' because the referential process is based on the conceit of the existence of an original text from which the fragment has been taken and therefore, (as Schlegel suggests, too) poses questions of a text's completeness. This form of the 'fragment', then,

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[21] Schlegel, *Schriften und Fragmente,* p. 95.
[22] 'Ein Fragment muß gleich einem kleinen Kunstwerke von der umgebenden Welt ganz abgesondert und in sich selbst vollendet sein wie ein Igel.', trans. by Julian Reidy. From: Schlegel, *Schriften und Fragmente,* p. 95. Also see, '14', 'In poetry too every whole can be a part and every part really a whole.' Firchow, *Lucinde and Fragments,* p. 144.
[23] See: Michael Bradshaw, 'Hedgehog Theory: How to Read a Romantic Fragment Poem', *Literature Compass,* 5 (2008), pp. 73-89 (p. 75).
[24] Coleridge, 'Kubla Khan', *The Major Works*, ed. by H.J. Jackson (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 2008), pp. 102-103; Bradshaw, 'Hedgehog Theory', p. 75.
[25] Bradshaw, 'Hedgehog Theory', p. 74.
[26] Ibid., p. 75.

is 'isolated' because the referential process is a metaphor; the original text that the fragment is positioned as belonging to, or anticipating, is a fiction. In the same way, Schlegel's 'small work of art', or miniature, does not necessarily refer to (or require elucidation from) another painting showing more of the scene, or simply a larger version of the image, as opposed to, for instance, one part of a triptych. Instructive examples include Friedrich Hölderlin's experiments in the *Berliner Ausgabe*, (significantly, the first volume of this edition was published in 1913—seventy years after Hölderlin's death), Keats's 'Hyperion. A Fragment', or Shelley's many fragment poems, e.g. 'A Fragment: To Music', 'Another Fragment to Music', 'Fragment: To the People of England', or *The Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* that pose as a collection of 'recovered' poems by the eponym.[27]

The fragmented text is whole or contained, (or presented as such) without it being framed as part of a larger piece, but built on a principle of internal fragmentation that might be manifested in a variety of forms. The paradigmatic modernist example of this form might be *The Waste Land* where allusive fragments become part of a formal process of dislocation.[28] Schlegel's taxonomy allows allusion to be treated differently to the fragment. Though, as in the case of *The Bridge*, allusion might be a crucial facet of the poem's fragmentary structure, for Schlegel, allusion falls into a separate aesthetic category. According to Schlegel's taxonomy, an allusion contained within a text is not truly isolated because it has been rent from another context and, thus, poses the question of whether the allusive chunk refers just to the quoted or paraphrased lines, or to the whole text from which it has been taken. In the cases of *The Bridge* and *The Waste Land*, allusion, as distinct from the fragment, is often used exactly for the heightened sense of dislocation brought about by the abilities of the allusive chunk to gesture to entire other texts, such as Crane's nod to Poe's 'Eldorado' in 'Indiana'.[29]

The Bridge, by virtue of its disassembly into individual publications and reassembly into volume form falls somewhere between these two conceptions of the fragment and fragmented text. These discrete publications are positioned as fragments but are not 'isolated' due to their extraction from *The Bridge* for individual publication and eventual reassembly into something of a collage form. Publishing, then, becomes a theoretical

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[27] The *Berliner Ausgabe* was arranged in six volumes, published by Norbert von Hellingrath from 1913-1923. Hölderlin, *Poems and Fragments*, ed. by Michael Hamburger (London: Anvil, 2004); Keats, 'Hyperion. A Fragment', *Complete Poems*, pp. 283-312; Shelley, 'A Fragment: To Music', 'Another Fragment to Music', 'Fragment: To the People of England', *The Complete Poetical Words,* ed. by Thomas Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), pp. 537, 537, 569.

[28] T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* in *Complete Poems and Plays*, pp. 59-80.

[29] This is more obvious in the periodical variant which retains the original 'Eldorado' title (like Poe, using the contracted version, rather than El Dorado), as well as using paraphrases of Poe's poem. Poe, 'Eldorado', *Complete Stories and Poems* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), p. 767; Crane, 'Eldorado', *Poetry*, 36.1 (April 1930), pp. 13-15.

reflection of the fragmented patterns of images, rhythms and motifs in the poem. Perloff, writing on 'Collage and Poetry', includes a quote from the 1978 Group Mu manifesto that is useful in considering how *The Bridge* fragments in periodicals relate to the volume form:

> Each cited element breaks the continuity or the linearity of the discourse and leads necessarily to a double reading: that of the fragment perceived in relation to its text of origin; that of the same fragment as incorporated into a new whole, a different totality. The trick of collage consists also of never entirely suppressing the alterity of these elements reunited in a temporary composition.[30]

The Bridge employs an analogous concept of collage. The sections of *The Bridge*, positioned as fragments through individual publication, highlight their 'alterity' and ability to function as discrete texts. This foregrounds the disjointed nature of their 'text of origin' (the assembled poem) and this process creates a 'double reading' between *The Bridge* in its periodical and assembled forms while linking the individually published fragments. This is emphasised by shared patterns between the sub-sections, created through repeated images—such as the repetition of 'tongues' in the 'Powhatan's Daughter' section with similar images appearing in 'The Harbor Dawn', 'Van Winkle' and 'The Dance and 'The Tunnel'.[31]

In September 1927 Crane wrote to Kahn emphasising the ability of the fragments to function alone. The 'Three Songs' in *The Calendar* was the only section of the poem to appear whole in a journal and is unique in that it carries a subtitle which signposts that the 'Songs' are 'from *The Bridge*'.[32] When submitting the 'Three Songs' to *The Virginia Quarterly*, Crane added a postscript suggesting that if the editors would 'prefer to drop the reference' to *The Bridge*, they were 'free to do so.'[33] Crane's remarks to Kahn highlight the relationship between fragmentary publication and the form of *The Bridge*: 'each is a separate canvas, as it were,' he wrote, 'yet none yields its entire significance when seen apart from others.'[34] Given that Crane had planned the 'general outline' by March 1926 (before submissions began in August) the publication of *The Bridge* was a process of disassembly (see Tables 2

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[30] Group Mu, 'Collages', *Revue d'aesthetique*, 1. 3-4 (Paris, 1978), as quoted in Perloff, 'Collage and Poetry', *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, I, ed. by Michael Kelly (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 384-87 (pp. 384-5).

[31] 'my tongue upon your throat', 'The Harbor Dawn: Brooklyn Heights', *transition*, 1.3 (June 1927), pp. 120-21 (p. 121), l. 26; 'rapid tongues', 'Van Winkle', *transition*, 1.7 (October 1927), pp. 128-9 (p. 128), l. 24; 'splay tongues', 'Powhatan's Daughter' ['The Dance'], *The Dial*, 83.4 (October 1927), pp. 329-32, (p. 330), l. 56; 'Our tongues recant', 'The Tunnel', *The Criterion*, p. 399, l. 46.

[32] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* pp. 344-350 and reiterated in a letter to Burke, 17 July 1927, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven); Crane, 'Three Songs from *the Bridge*', *The Calendar,* 4.1 (1927), pp. 107-10.

[33] Crane to the Editors, 25 July 1927, box 11, folder 24, *Virginia Quarterly* Papers (Charlottesville).

[34] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML*, pp. 345-46.

and 3 on p. 161).[35] Once separated and published individually, these discrete publications are turned into quasi-fragment (not isolated) forms that refer to a concrete—though not necessarily complete—wider context or whole form in, initially, Crane's plan and, later, the 1930 volume. The publications that appeared as fragments either explicitly (in the case of the 'Three Songs') or implicitly refer to their context in *The Bridge* with its carefully designed fifteen-part structure and, as Crane put it, 'thousands' of 'interwoven […] strands'.[36]

Crane's practice was, in a number of different ways, guided by his use of fragment forms. Perloff's point that the use of 'collage' ('spatial relationships') and 'montage' ('temporal') is guided by 'the metonymic juxtaposition of objects' ('two unrelated "items" being pasted together') is, as discussed in my previous chapters, useful to bear in mind in relation to Crane's own 'logic of metaphor'.[37] Crane's use of metonymy has been a frequent object of study for his critics, but it is important to consider how this mode, even on its smallest scales, might be guided by his interest in 'Surrealist collage', used to 'produce a fragmented narrative'—particularly given the fruitful relationship between Crane and *transition* and, earlier in the decade, *Secession* and *Broom*.[38] Other instructive examples from these journals include Cowley's deliberately irrational, but seriously intended, image of 'fishcakes blossoming' or, later in the decade, in his own *transition*, Eugene Jolas's 'Flight into Geography' which opens: 'November fog bears paroxysm of thoughts', and is carefully placed next to a painting from Giorgio de Chirico with the note 'Courtesy of the Gallerie Surrealiste'.[39] In a clear demonstration of the impact of these linguistically experimental texts on his group, the final number of *transition*'s first run included an article from Soupault congratulating the magazine's for its 'Revolution of the Word' project, which, he wrote, shared 'geometric links' with the aesthetic projects of Surrealism.[40]

In 1922, Crane had summarised Cowley and Josephson's experiments using his own parodic example, calling this kind of form 'four winds, the six senses and plum pudding'.[41] Despite this early dismissal, Crane began to integrate these juxtaposed forms in his poetry (Crane called it his 'condensed metaphorical habit'), but still built his metaphors around 'associational meanings'.[42] For instance, 'Choiring strings' recalls exactly the harp-

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[35] Crane to Kahn, 18 March 1926, *OML*, p. 236.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Perloff, 'Collage and Poetry', pp. 384-5.
[38] Perloff, 'Collage and Poetry', p. 385; See, among others: Veronica Morgan, *Reading Hart Crane by Metonymy*, Ph.D Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1986; Harold Bloom on 'metonymic displacements' in Bloom, *Hart Crane* (New York: Chelsea House, 1986), p. 206; Edelman, *Transmemberment*, pp. 9, 10, 197.
[39] See pp. 67-71; Jolas, 'Flight into Geography', *transition*, 1.10 (January 1928), pp. 75-85 (p. 75).
[40] Soupault, '*transition* and France', *transition*, 1.19-20 (June 1930), 376; Jolas, 'Statement: The Revolution of the Word', *transition,* 1.18 (November 1929), p. 176.
[41] Crane to Josephson, 14 January 1922, p. 58. Jolas, *The Man from Babel,* ed. by Andreas Kramer and Rainer Rumold (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 111.
[42] Crane to Frank, 18 January 1926, *OML,* p. 226.

like shape created by the suspension wires of the Brooklyn Bridge and, then, Crane confirms this image in stanza eight with 'O harp and altar, of the fury fused.'[43] Likewise, in 'The Tunnel' 'scuttle yawn…subway' operates as a pun between 'scuttle' as a noun and a verb. This phrase neatly illustrates the fast movements of commuters, while punning on 'coal scuttle' illustrating the shape (emphasized with 'yawn') and dingy smokiness of the station's entrance.[44] Just as Crane clarifies 'choiring strings' with 'harp and altar', this phrase from 'The Tunnel' in *The Criterion* links back to the more self-evident line from 'To Brooklyn Bridge' in *The Dial*: 'out of some subway scuttle, cell, or loft | a bedlamite speeds […]'.[45] In 'The River' this takes on a larger scale.[46] As Cowley notes in his review in *The New Republic:*

> the poem, which began as a crazy jumble of prose and progressed by narrowing circles into the Great Valley, develops finally into a slow hymn to the river, a celebration of the Mississippi as it pours 'down two or more turns.'[47]

Just as the 'logic' attempts to pincer in on its subject through association, 'The River' gradually narrows its breadth, grasping at its subject. The poem opens with descriptions of generic advertising with 'patent name[s]' on 'signboard[s]', that, perhaps widely distributed, are not specific to a particular location. Then, Crane zooms in slightly to the vast territory of 'the Dakotas' and gradually narrows to the 'tideless swell' and 'mustard glow' of the Mississippi, then to particular locations in the river's path, such as Iron mountain in Missouri, details including Hernando de Soto's failed expedition across the river, or the delta just before the river meets the Gulf of Mexico that 'flows within itself, heaps itself free.'[48]

The beginnings of Crane's poems were often collages made from jottings in notebooks. Crane found the composition of 'The Tunnel', for instance, 'ghastly, almost surgery' and 'almost all' taken from 'notes and stitches I have written'.[49] As documented by his biographers (and praised by Jolas in *The Man From Babel*), Crane habitually combed through his dictionary for interesting words to use in his poetry.[50] In a 'Vocabulary Notebook' kept between 1925 and 1928, Crane made lists of words and phrases that stimulated new poems, or guided on-going compositions—as is made clear by a heading

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[43] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 490, l. 30.
[44] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 398, ll. 22-3.
[45] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 489, ll. 17-18.
[46] Crane, 'The River', *American Caravan: A Yearbook of American Literature*, 2 (1928), pp. 804-806.
[47] Cowley, 'A Preface to Hart Crane', *The New Republic*, 62.803 (23 April 1930), pp. 276-277 (p. 266).
[48] See Kramer's explanation of Crane's sources in 'The River', *The Bridge: Annotated*, ed. by Lawrence Kramer (New York: Fordham, 2011), pp. 39, 42, 43.
[49] Crane to Frank, 23 August 1926, *OML*, p. 272.
[50] Irwin, *Hart Crane's Poetry*, p. 341; Jolas, *Babel*, p. 120.

scrawled in the jotter: 'impressions to paraphrase'.[51] One list reads: 'incest with sanction| pangs| looted| the forfeit| "the spur of a glacier" The sea [afflicting?] God! | Quintillions of million mirrors— […] disaster | forfeits and counterfeits | malignant | virulent'.[52] These concepts can be traced back through *The Bridge*. For instance, 'the glacier woman' in 'The Dance' ('Powhatan's Daughter in *The Dial*) and the sense of 'spurred on movement' as 'tendons […] twang'.[53] Elsewhere 'pangs' is repeated with 'pangs of dust and steel' in 'Atlantis' and the idea of 'forfeits, counterfeits and sanctions'— reappear in 'The Visible the Untrue' with: 'To | stir your confidence?| To rouse what sanctions—?'[54] Both the image and giddy patterns of 'Quintillions of million mirrors' are echoed in 'Southern Cross' with 'Light drowned in lithic trillions of your spawn' and, with greater emphasis, in 'Atlantis' with 'some trillion whispering hammers glimmer tyre.'[55]

Roger Shattuck contends that the 'implicate fragment' (a synonym for the Romantic conception of the fragment) is positioned as the 'shard of pottery' that 'the astute investigator can [use to] restore not only the original vessel […but] the whole culture'. As these linked sections show, the assembled *Bridge* —by way of extension— is something of a deliberately smashed and reconstructed Kintsugi ceramic where a feature is made of the reassembly of the broken object, with its fractures deliberately preserved and accented in its new form.[56]

b. *The Bridge* fragments in periodicals

The fragmentary publication of *The Bridge* experiments with the aesthetic form of the poem. There are instances where reading the poem in its periodical contexts helps to accentuate the fine detail of the poem, but an assessment of the fragment/fragmentary forms of the text (and how they relate to publishing) has a marked effect on reading of the poem as a whole. This approach illustrates how fragmentary publication may have conditioned the immediate reception of the poem and, as a result, played a part in establishing leading themes in Crane criticism.

The Bridge was composed between 1923 and 1929 and, including two reprints, was published in seven journals in thirteen non-consecutive 'fragments', as Crane referred to

[51] Crane, Vocabulary Notebook, box 10, Crane Papers (New York).
[52] Ibid.
[53] Crane, 'Powhatan's Daughter', p. 330, l. 43.
[54] Crane, 'The Visible the Untrue', *Complete Poems*, p. 198, ll. 12-14.
[55] Crane, 'Southern Cross', p. 108, l. 33; Crane, 'Atlantis', *Complete Poems*, p. 106, l. 34.
[56] Roger Shattuck, 'The Alphabet and the Junkyard', *The Innocent Eye: On Modern Literature and the Arts* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1984), pp. 32- 39 (p. 35).

them in letters.[57] Characteristically, Crane 'enclos[ed] fragment[s]' in letters to friends as the poems developed, updating Frank most regularly.[58] Apart from a manuscript that Lohf suggests was sent to Kahn in the winter of 1928-29, *The Bridge* was, it seems, not circulated in full before the publication of the 1930 volume.[59] Fittingly, the assembled volume was shared by simultaneous editions on either side of the Atlantic with the Parisian Black Sun Press and Horace Liveright in New York.[60] The process of periodical publication began with the 'Three Songs' in London's *Calendar of Modern Letters* in April 1927 up to the reprint of 'To Brooklyn Bridge' in the November 1930 number of *Poetry* on receipt of the journal's prestigious annual award.[61] Further, emphasizing the idea of the poem as an unstable text, three sections, 'The Dance', 'The Tunnel', and 'Van Winkle', were reprinted in four anthologies before the volume edition was published.[62]

The tables below show the structure of the poem as it appeared in the volume and periodical publications:

Table 1. *The Bridge*

Part	Section Title	Subsection
Proem	To Brooklyn Bridge	
I	Ave Maria	
II	Powhatan's Daughter	1. The Harbor Dawn
		2. Van Winkle
		3. The River
		4. The Dance
		5. Indiana
III	Cutty Sark	
IV	Cape Hatteras	
V	Three Songs	1. Southern Cross
		2. National Winter Garden
		3. Virginia
VI	Quaker Hill	
VII	The Tunnel	
VIII	Atlantis	

[57] Crane, on 'Atlantis', 'the enclosed fragment': to Charlotte Rychtarik, 21 July 1923; on 'the Indiana fragment', to William Wright, 21 November 1930, *OML*, pp. 159, 438.
[58] See Crane to Frank, 3 August 1926 with a draft of 'Atlantis', or 26 July 1926 when Crane, noting Frank had become a 'repository' for the fragments, sent him 'Ave Maria' and 'Cutty Sark', *OML*, pp. 266, 265. See, Lohf, *Manuscripts*, pp. 27-54, for full descriptions of the circulated manuscripts.
[59] A manuscript not in Lohf, and a version Crane made for Peggy Baird, seems to have been written either shortly before or after volume publication because the sub-titles (late changes) follow those of the volume. See Cowley to Lew Feldman, n.d., box 1, folder 6, and *The Bridge* [galley proofs], box 1, folder 2, both in Crane Collection (Austin).
[60] Crane, *The Bridge* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930); *The Bridge* (Paris: Black Sun, 1930).
[61] Showing Crane's, and local, interest in the award, he kept in his belongings a clipping from *The Chicago Daily Tribune* that announced his winning *Poetry's* award. In box 12, Crane Papers (New York).
[62] 'Powhatan's Daughter' ['The Dance'], *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1928 and Yearbook of American Poetry,* ed. by William Stanley Braithwaite (New York: Harold Vinal Ltd, 1928), pp. 84-87; 'The Tunnel', *Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry*, ed. by Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, 1930), p. 529; 'Van Winkle', ibid., p. 521; The Tunnel', *Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry*, ed. by Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, 1930), p. 529.

Table 2. *The Bridge* in periodicals

Section	Date	Journal	Location
Southern Cross	April-July 1927	*The Calendar of Modern Letters*	London
National Winter Garden	---	---	---
Virginia	---	---	---
Cutty Sark	June 1927	*transition*	Paris
The Harbor Dawn: Brooklyn Heights	---	---	---
To Brooklyn Bridge	June 1927	*The Dial*	NYC
Ave Maria	September 1927	*The American Caravan*	NYC
Powhatan's Daughter [The Dance]	October 1927	*The Dial*	NYC
Van Winkle	October 1927	*transition*	Paris
Cutty Sark	October 1927	*Poetry*	Chicago
The Tunnel	November 1927	*The Criterion*	London
The River	September 1928	*The Second American Caravan*	NYC
Cape Hatteras	15 March 1930	*The Saturday Review*	NYC
Eldorado [Indiana]	April 1930	*Poetry*	Chicago
To Brooklyn Bridge	November 1930	*Poetry*	Chicago

The fragmentary appearance of the journal publications of *The Bridge* went against contemporary norms for publishing long poems. Standard procedure, among the 'variety of possibilities of modernist publishing', would be through a sympathetic editor of a journal with the text printed in one instalment or, less commonly, serialised or in chapbook form.[63] For instance: *The Waste Land* appeared simultaneously in *The Dial* and the first issue of *The Criterion* in October 1922. All thirty-four of Mina Loy's 'Love Songs' were serialised in two parts in *Others*, with the first half in the inaugural number of the magazine, and updated with all thirty-four printed in April 1917. Pound printed Zukofsky's eighteen page 'Poem Beginning "The"' in the penultimate number of *Exile*. Harold Monro published Ford Madox Hueffer's *Antwerp* in chapbook form through his Poetry Bookshop Press in 1915 and Rainer Maria Rilke's *Die Sonette an Orpheus* were published in one volume in 1923.[64] As discussed in Chapter I, Guido Bruno had a small cottage industry producing chapbooks of long form poems from 'his garret on Washington Square'. The series included Kreymborg's *To My Mother: Ten Rhythms*, and *Mushrooms: 16 Rhythms*.[65] Later, William Carlos Williams chose to serialise *Paterson* with New Directions between 1946 and 1958.[66] While there are examples of long form poems published in highly complex, fragmented and non-linear forms, such as Zukofsky's *A* (1928-1968), which first appeared in *Poetry* with 'Number 8', what makes Crane's example so unusual is that *The Bridge* was dissembled: the poem was

[63] Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 78.
[64] Zukofsky, 'Poem Beginning "the"', *The Exile* 1.3 (Spring, 1928), pp. 7-27. Ford Madox Hueffer, *Antwerp* (London: The Poetry Bookshop, 1915); Rainer Maria Rilke, *Die Sonette an Orpheus* (München: Insel-Verlag, 1923).
[65] Kreymborg, *To My Mother: Ten Rhythms*, Vol. 7, *Bruno's Chap Books* (New York: Guido Bruno, 1915); *Mushrooms: 16 Rhythms*, Vol. 3 (New York: Guido Bruno, 1915).
[66] See 'Author's Note' to Williams, *Paterson* (New York: New Directions, 1963), front pages.

contained within a plan from as early as 1923 and finalised in March 1926 (with many parts already drafted) before Crane's first submissions in August—though nothing appeared in print until the following April.[67] Significantly, and understanding how publication would affect the poem's reception, Liveright 'was nervous' about *The Waste Land*'s appearance in periodical form: 'And does it *all* appear in *one* issue of *The Dial*—please let me know.'[68]

Crane had distinct reasons for not publishing 'Quaker Hill' and 'Atlantis' independently. 'Quaker Hill' was completed on 26 December 1929, which 'ended [Crane's] writing on *The Bridge*'.[69] When sending the final draft to Caresse Crosby, Crane noted that he did 'not, after all' think of 'Quaker Hill' as 'one of the major sections of the poem.' It was, he wrote, 'rather, by way of an "accent mark" that it is valuable at all.'[70] As an 'accent', then, Crane may have felt the poem did not operate successfully as a discrete publication. In the assembled text, 'Quaker Hill' leads into 'The Tunnel' (the centre of Crane's anxious dialogue with Eliot in *The Bridge*) through its allusions to Eliot. '[T]ake this sheaf of dust upon your tongue!' recalls 'smoke…licked its tongue into the corners of the evening', from 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', as well as communion—so Crane may have had Eliot's 1927 conversion to Anglicanism in mind here.[71] While, 'Leaf after autumnal leaf | break off, | descend—' recalls 'the last fingers of the leaf | Clutch and sink into the wet bank', from 'The Fire Sermon'.[72] Just before the descent to 'The Tunnel', Crane has these allusions to Eliot dominate the poem as he bears in mind the subterranean locations of *The Waste Land:* 'descend— | descend—' recalls 'and down we went', 'stairs unlit'.[73] But this also works as reflective comment on the 'descent' into a different, more pessimistic, poetic mode of 'The Tunnel' that engages with the (in Crane's words) 'damned dead' tone of *The Waste Land.*[74]

'The mystic consummation toward which all the other sections of the poem converge', 'Atlantis', was the first to be completed. Work on 'Atlantis' was catalysed by his reading of Lewis Spence's *Atlantis in America*, which Crane found 'full of exciting suggestions'. Fittingly given the transatlantic interests of *The Bridge*, Spence details his belief in the sunken 'great island continent' that enabled one 'type of culture' to 'reach the shores

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[67] Regarding *'A:* the poem first appeared when *'A:* Second Movement' appeared in *Poetry* 40.1 (April 1932), pp. 26-29); then '29' in 46.2 (September 1933), p. 312, then '9' in 58.3 (June 1941), pp. 128-130. Crane's 'vague', early plans are outlined in letters: to Munson, 6 February 1923; 18 February 1923; 2 March 1923, *OML*, p. 124, and pp. 136-38.
[68] Rainey, *Institutions*, p. 197.
[69] To Caresse Crosby, 26 December 1929, *OML,* p. 421.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Crane, 'Quaker Hill', *Complete Poems*, pp. 92-94 (p. 94), l. 52; Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', *Complete,* pp. 13-17, ll. 16-17; Lyndall Gordon, *T.S. Eliot: An Imperfect Life* (London: Vintage, 1998), p. 237.
[72] Crane, 'Quaker Hill', p. 94, ll. 71-73; Eliot, *The Waste Land*, p. 67, ll. 1-2.
[73] Eliot, ibid., p. 61, l. 16, p. 69, l. 48
[74] To Munson, 20 November 1922, *OML,* p. 108.

of America as well as those of Europe.'[75] In a letter to Waldo Frank in August 1926 Crane explained his strategy for the poem: 'a bridge', he wrote, 'is begun from two ends at once.'[76] It is significant that Crane chose not to publish 'Atlantis' separately; the function of 'Atlantis' as a point of 'convergence' guided Crane's decision. After the poem's reassembly in volume form, 'Atlantis' works to secure the displaced fragments through its re-articulation of images from the preceding sections. This process begins from the first line: 'Through the bound cable strands, the arching path'.[77] This closely follows the 'girder[s]', 'cables', 'inviolate curve' and 'curveship' of 'To Brooklyn Bridge'.[78] Then, sticking with the same image, 'Atlantis' picks up on the 'choiring strings' from the proem with 'flight of strings' and, later, 'O arching strands of song!— ' while 'song' then creates a further link to 'The Tunnel': 'impassioned with some song we fail to keep | and yet, like Lazarus […]'.[79] 'Atlantis' is the missing piece fitted into the jigsaw upon volume publication. This idea, highlighted by Crane's involvement with *transition* magazine, borrows from, in Perloff's words, the 'Cubist collage' (which Perloff distinguishes from similar Futurist, Dada and Surrealist forms, see p. 69) where 'the objects, though disparate, are drawn from the same radius of discourse' so that 'the larger scheme into which these fragments are drawn is still that of a unified picture.'[80]

The late completion of 'Eldorado' and 'Cape Hatteras' was not a barrier for Crane in terms of individual publication. The two sections, completed late in 1929, were both published in journals after the volume had appeared and the variants only contain minor discrepancies.[81] Despite Crane's plans with Liveright and Black Sun to have the volume appear early in 1930, he was, apparently, keen to have these fragments appear individually and submitted these two poems for separate publication in the autumn of 1929. While Crane no doubt appreciated the payments, with a $2000 gift from Kahn he was freer to choose aesthetically suitable, rather than simply remunerative, journals.[82] *The Calendar* paid

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[75] Crane to Susan Jenkins Brown, 22 May 1926, *OML*, p. 254; Lewis Spence, *Atlantis in America* (London: E. Benn, 1925), p. 13.
[76] Crane to Frank, 3 August 1926, *OML*, p. 266.
[77] Crane, 'Atlantis', p. 105, l. 1.
[78] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, pp. 490-91, ll. 1, 21, 44.
[79] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 490, l. 30; 'Atlantis', p. 105, ll. 2, 20; 'The Tunnel', pp. 401-02, ll. 118-19.
[80] Perloff, 'Collage and Poetry', pp. 384-5.
[81] There are, for instance, some formatting differences. The second line of 'Cape Hatteras' is not indented hard right, ditto line seven, and at line 37 Crane alters 'But the eagle' to 'Now the eagle'. Crane, 'Cape Hatteras', p. 822, l. 37 and in volume text: *Complete Poems*, pp. 77-84 (p. 78), l. 37. 'Eldorado', as well as the title change, has the occasional difference in punctuation between periodical and volume. For instance, an additional comma at line 18 at 'freshets came,'. 'Eldorado', p. 13, l. 18; 'Indiana', *Complete Poems*, pp. 66-68 (p. 66), l. 18.
[82] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* pp. 344-350. This was not quite a gift: as Crane told Frank on 28 January 1927: 'It seems I have to pay $60 off the rest of my mortal term on life insurance to the

'a competitive rate of £3.3s for 1,000 words'; *The Dial* paid forty dollars for 'To Brooklyn Bridge' and eighty dollars for the longer poem, 'Powhatan's Daughter'.[83] However, *transition*, who could not pay its contributors, printed the largest proportion of *The Bridge* fragments, showing that Crane's priority was in placing the sections in complementary journals, rather than seeking out magazine publishers with generous contribution rates.

'Eldorado' appeared in *Poetry* before he had settled on the final title, 'Indiana', which made Crane's allusion to the El Dorado legend and, particularly, his attention to Poe's interpretation of the legend, more subtle. Poe's poem had been printed in the first number of *transition* in April 1927, before Crane began work on his own version of the legend in 1929.[84] Despite Crane's habit of editing manuscripts even after they had been accepted by editors, he did not ask *Poetry* to change the title in the months between the volume's publication and 'Eldorado's' appearance in *Poetry.*[85] The title change softens Crane's reference to Sir Walter Raleigh, who described in the *Discoverie of Guiana* his first search for 'that great and golden city of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado' in 1594.[86] Crane's remembering of Poe's poem and Raleigh's expedition leads him to present the 1849 Gold Rush as one of the founding myths of *The Bridge* as opposed to, in Jerome McGann's appraisal of Poe's poem, 'the critical position [towards] self delusion and crass American materialism.'[87] The son of the narrator, Larry (about to 'swap the scythe for oar' by leaving for the navy), is made 'Prodigal' while 'nuggets' of 'golden syllables' are 'loosed from the clay', the 'lost bones' of Jim, the narrator's husband 'stir' at Larry's birth, and 'Larry' puns on Odysseus's childhood name, 'Laertiades' (son of Laertes).[88] Due to the scattered references to the colonial history of the Americas throughout *The Bridge* we are primed to recognise the veiled references in 'Indiana'—particularly given its place in the 'Powhatan's Daughter' section. 'Indiana's' allusions to Poe are still drawn out retrospectively through links to other sections that reinforce more tentative allusions—

Kahn estate, which, of course I was dumb bell enough not to understand when he proposed it.' *Letters*, p. 286.

[83] Harding, *The Criterion,* p. 47; Moore to Crane, 17 March 1927, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven). To contextualise *The Dial*'s payments: Crane was paid $100 in advance for *White Buildings*— around a fiftieth of the average household income in 1926 ($5,306.43). *The Bridge* volume earned just $1 in 1934. Liveright Publishing Corporation Royalty Statement, box 25, Crane Papers (New York); Boni & Liveright Contract, July 9 1926, box 25, Crane Papers (New York). Income statistics from: Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Treasury Department: United States Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income from Returns of Net Income for 1926 Including Statistics of from Estate Tax Returns* (Washington D.C, United States Government Printing Office: 1928), p.3, <http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-soi/26soirepar.pdf> accessed 9.07.15.

[84] Poe, 'Eldorado', in F. Boillet, 'The Methodological Study of Literature', *transition*, 1.1 (April 1927), pp. 57-58 (p. 57); Lohf, *Manuscripts*, pp. 40-41; Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 603.

[85] Galley Proofs of *The Bridge* have the title as 'Indiana', Crane, *The Bridge* (galley proofs), box 1, folder 2, Crane Collection (Austin).

[86] Sir Walter Raleigh, *Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. by Joyce Lorimer (London: Ashgate, 2006), lxxxii.

[87] Jerome McGann, *Edgar Allan Poe: Alien Angel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 128.

[88] Crane, 'Eldorado', *Poetry*, 36.1 (April 1930), pp. 13-15, ll. 19-20.

such as Poe's appearance in 'The Tunnel' ('Shaking—did you deny the ticket, Poe?').[89] It seems that, published independently, Crane felt a more salient nod to the other poet, and to the legend, was necessary to highlight the domestic conversation between mother and son against the backdrop of the gold rush as allegorical to the mythical search for El Dorado.

Writing to Kahn, Crane explained the poem, before switching the positions of mother and father:

> It will be a monologue of an Indiana farmer; time, about 1860. He has failed in the gold-rush and is returned to the soil. His monologue is a farewell to his son, who is leaving for a life on the sea…It is a lyrical summary of the period of conquest, and his wife, the mother, who died on the way back from the gold-rush, is alluded to in a way which implies her succession to the nature-symbolism of Pocahontas.[90]

In the volume form, where the 'El Dorado' myth looms less large, the 'syllables…loosed from the clay' are less solely the gold nuggets slowly being dug from the ground, and the line takes on a similar meaning to the 'bones' as 'hieroglyphs' in 'Melville'.[91] In other words, Crane is alluding to his own creative process where meaning is, through association, 'loosed' from the dense text. A secondary reading comes from Crane's dating of the poem to 1860, the year the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* was published, and five years after the first edition in 1855. The suggestion, then, is that it is the American poetic tradition being 'loosed from the clay', which implicitly dismisses the Native American literary history Crane appropriates elsewhere in 'Powhatan's Daughter'. The links between the poetic ideas presented here in 'Eldorado/Indiana' and the 1927 version of 'O Carib Isle' suggest that the latter may well have been a discarded fragment of *The Bridge*—particularly given that Crane was sending out the poem at the same time as fragments of *The Bridge* and, like 'O Carib Isle', 'The Mango Tree' was also originally intended for *The Bridge* but was eventually removed and included in *Key West.*[92]

'Cutty Sark' first appeared in *transition* with an epigraph from Isaiah, with Christ as warrior slaying the retreating Leviathan: 'And he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea,' which links this section to other references to Isaiah in 'The Tunnel' and 'Ave Maria'.[93]

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[89] In a letter to Frank, Crane comments on the similarity of the 'position' in which he '*symbolized*' Poe with Williams's presentation of Poe in *The American Grain* (New York: New Directions, 1956), pp. 216-33. Crane, though, claimed that he deliberately did not read Williams's text until after he was clear in his intentions for *The Bridge*. To Frank, 21 November 1926, *OML*, pp. 289-90.

[90] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML*, pp. 345-46.

[91] See Chapter III, p. 142.

[92] Crane to Frank, 12 August 1926: 'Two of the three songs have just popped out (enclosed) which come after 'Cutty Sark' and before 'The Mango Tree', *OML*, p. 268.

[93] Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *transition,* p. 116; Isaiah 27:1, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha,* ed. by Robert Carrol and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2008), p. 788. This could also be an allusion to Eliot where 'There is a shadow…rock' seems to recall the 'great rock' from Isaiah

However, in *Poetry* a few months later, Crane removes the allusion to Isaiah and the suggestion of this epigraph that 'man in South Street' has messianic qualities.[94] Instead, Crane begins the poem with lines from Melville's 'Temeraire' (another British ship). The reference to Melville's Temeraire roots the poem historically in the Napoleonic conflict (in which the ship served, famously painted by J. M. W. Turner in 1838 as *The Fighting Temeraire*). Crane's epigraph, kept for the volume version, reads:

> *O, the navies old and oaken,*
>
> *O the Temeraire no more!* [95]

After this first publication, Crane clarifies the allusive qualities of the fragment. In the volume version there is a clear suggestion that the narrator of 'Cutty Sark' is the grown 'Prodigal son' of the preceding poem, 'Indiana' ('Eldorado'), who has gone 'to sea' and Crane can afford to complicate the voice of the speaker by introducing Melville.[96] The direct reference to Melville cannot help but link Crane's sailor with his 'shark tooth' necklace and tales of the 'S.S. *Ala* Antwerp', with Melville's own 'carved and castled navies'—particularly Ishmael.[97]

The allusive qualities of 'Cape Hatteras' guided Crane's decision to publish the text after the volume appeared. 'Cape Hatteras' takes up Whitman's ideas of 'crossing', 'spanning' and 'bridging' from 'Passage to India'.[98] Crane, though, shifts the panoptic surveys common to Whitman's poetry ('Have you reckoned a thousand acres much? Have you reckoned the earth much?') and narrows his focus to this seventy miles of the North Carolina coast, with its unusual chevron shape—that 'convulsive shift of land'.[99] 'Cape Hatteras' takes lines from the poem as his epigraph, while Crane also acknowledges a potential source for the chosen central symbol of *The Bridge*:

> These triumphs of our time, the Atlantic's delicate cable,
>
> The Pacific railroad, the Suez Canal, the Mont Cenis and Gothard and Hoosac tunnels,
>
> the Brooklyn Bridge
>
> This earth all spann'd with iron rails, with lines of steamships threading every sea,

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as noted by Rainey in Eliot, *The Annotated "Waste Land" With Eliot's Contemporary Prose,* ed. by Lawrence Rainey (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 78, 121, 240.

[94] Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *transition*, p. 116, l. 1.

[95] Ibid., Epigraph, p. 116.

[96] Crane, 'Indiana', *Complete*, p. 67, l. 13; 44.

[97] Melville, 'Temeraire' *Selected Poems*, ed. by Robert Faggen (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 34-37; In *Moby-Dick*, a shark's tooth is used to carve bone models, and in *Typee* to decorate clubs. *Moby-Dick*, ed. by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and B. Thomas Tanselle (London: Penguin Classics, 2012), p. 317; Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life,* ed. by John Bryant (London: Penguin Classics, 1996), p. 84.

[98] Whitman, 'Passage to India', *Leaves of Grass,* ed. by Jerome Loving (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 315-323 (p. 316-17), ll. 32, 34, 64.

[99] Whitman, 'Song of Myself', *Leaves of Grass*, pp. 29-79 (p. 30), l. 30; Doug Stover, *Cape Hatteras National Seashore* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2015), p. 7.

Our own rondure, the current globe I bring.[100]

The impulse to 'span' and connect literary networks, expressed practically through the disseminated publication, intersect with Crane's ideas for the mythical potential of America. Crane had Whitman in mind here, but in disassembling this long poem, spreading its publications and then having them 'converge' via 'Atlantis' in the volume form of *The Bridge*, Crane gives this mystical idea its practical application. It was fitting, then, that 'Cape Hatteras' appeared as a discrete fragment as part of this network of individual publications in *The Saturday Review*, even after the volume had appeared. Crane was surprised when *The Saturday Review* accepted 'Cape Hatteras'; Benét had written of his interest in 'The Tunnel', but he deemed the poem 'by no means great', and added that 'a good many poems have been written about travelling underground, and a few about travelling under the river, in this Manhattan, but we give Crane best.'[101] *The Saturday Review* was sympathetic to the 'machinery' and 'taut motors' of 'Cape Hatteras', particularly given that Crane's American Futurist friend, Matthew Josephson, was now writing regularly for the journal.[102] Along with his improving relationship with *The Dial* (as discussed in Chapter III, p. 149) and *Poetry,* Crane interpreted this publication in *The Saturday Review*, along with attention from *Vanity Fair* as an 'optimistic' shift in his reception in circles outside of the avant-garde journals that had launched his early career.[103]

c. The transatlantic *Bridge*

The publishing history of 'To Brooklyn Bridge' shows the interaction between the fragment and fragmented text. Crane had hoped that the proem might be the first of the fragments to be published, appearing (like *The Waste Land*) in *The Dial* and *The Criterion*. Despite sending back 'The Wine Menagerie' and 'Passage', Eliot had told Crane to 'let him see other things' that he was working on. Crane then sent 'Passage' to *The Calendar*, where it appeared in July 1926, and in August, sent Eliot 'To Brooklyn Bridge'.[104] Writing to Frank days after sending the proem to *The Criterion* and *The Dial*, Crane noted that he 'probably [would not] let anything out of the bag on this side of the water, though, for sometime yet,

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[100] Whitman, 'Song of Exposition', *Leaves of Grass*, pp. 157-165 (p. 163), ll. 161-64.
[101] "The Phoenician" [William Rose Benét], 'The Phoenix Nest', *The Saturday Review,* 4.23 (31 December 1927), p. 496.
[102] Josephson, 'A Modern Joan of Arc', review of Joseph Delteil, *Joan of Arc* (1925), *The Saturday Review*, 47.2 (19 June 1926), p. 869; 'Intellectual Comedy', review of Paul Valéry, *Variety* (1927), *The Saturday Review,* 3.38 (16 April 1927), p. 725.
[103] Unsigned, 'Singers of the New Age', p. 89; To Harry and Caresse Crosby, 30 August 1929, *OML*, p. 415.
[104] Crane to Frank, 12 August 1926, *OML*, p. 268.

it keeps too many question marks in my head, albeit a little change for the purse.'[105] Eliot returned the poem six months after its submission, and *The Dial* published the piece over a year later.[106] Crane decided to split *The Bridge* publications even at this early stage, and wanted, ideally, for 'To Brooklyn Bridge' to introduce the fragments that were to be published later. While Crane's term for the poem, 'invocation', is closely associated with the Classical Epic, Crane is drawing on a more recent history of 'invocation' poems, particularly in Romantic poetry, that experiment with the genre. For example: Wordsworth's 'Invocation to Earth', or 'Introduction' to *The Prelude*, Shelley's 'Invocation' (where a longer poem does not follow), or Blake's 'Invocation' from *Milton.*[107] In 'To Brooklyn Bridge', while Crane is, no doubt, gesturing to the epic convention, he seems to be remembering Wordsworth's 'Introduction' to *The Prelude*, another long poem which evades strict generic classification.[108] Wordsworth's 'cherished fetters to unbind', 'But not on high, where madness is resented' become the 'unfractioned idiom', 'chained bay waters Liberty' and the 'bedlamite speed[ing] to thy parapets'.[109] The idea is more to introduce the central image of the Brooklyn Bridge, and the allusions to the structure that resonate and connect the following sections, than to announce that the poem will be working strictly within the formal traditions of the conventional epic.

After the poem's delayed publication at *The Dial*, and silence from Eliot, Crane pragmatically decided to have the fragments printed in a non-linear fashion, avoiding issues resulting from different acceptance and printing schedules at his chosen journals.[110] Given Crane's precarious finances, the benefits of journal publication are clear: immediate and relatively generous pay (effectively selling *The Bridge* twice, once to journals and once to Liveright), as well as the prestige of publishing in journals such as *The Dial*. Crane sent 'To Brooklyn Bridge' to *The Criterion* and *The Dial*, to function in the manner of the Romantic fragment poem, but referring to an actual fragmented text—albeit an, at the time,

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[105] Crane to Frank, Ibid.

[106] 'I must apologise for having kept the enclosed manuscript for so long.' Eliot to Crane, 24 January 1927, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Volume 3: 1926-1927*. ed. by Valerie Eliot, John Haffenden and Hugh Haughton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 391. The editors of Eliot's letters note that this rejection was for 'The Wine Menagerie', 'Passage' and 'Praise for an Urn'. Looking at Crane's letters, this chronology doesn't add up, Crane submitted 'To Brooklyn Bridge' to Eliot in August 1926. Crane to Frank, 12 August 1926, *OML*, p. 269.

[107] Wordsworth, 'Invocation to Earth', *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth,* I (London: Edward Moxton, 1837), pp. 320-21; Wordsworth, 'Introduction: Childhood and School-time', *The Prelude*, ed. by M. H. Abrams, Stephen Gill and Jonathan Wordsworth (New York: Norton, 1979), pp. 29-30, ll. 1-45; Shelley, 'Invocation', *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 633.

[108] See Masaki Mori on Wordsworth's 'Introduction' in *Epic Grandeur: Toward a Comparative Poetics of the Epic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997), p. 103.

[109] Wordsworth, 'Invocation to Earth', pp. 320-21, ll. 6, 15; Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 489, ll. 18, 4.

[110] *The Dial* generally took around ten days to decide on a poem: the proem was submitted on the 22 July 1926 and accepted on the 5 August. box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven). Eliot took six months to return the same poem. Eliot to Crane, 24 January 1927, *Letters,* III, p. 391.

incomplete one. However, *The Bridge* (as it appeared in journals) opened in London with the 'Three Songs', which, similarly to the proem, gestures to the following sections through its unique note 'from *The Bridge*'.[111]

Among the journals active within the London literary scene in the late 1920s, *The Calendar* and *The Criterion,* through publications and reviews, stand out for their engagement with modernist literature—though the two magazines printed different constellations of American writers. In a 1973 interview, Rickword commented that *The Calendar* was founded as a 'sort of discontented club, discontented with all the established novelists and literary cliques.'[112] Rickword added that the 'anti-modernist' and 'anti-American' stance of other U.K. journals was crucial to *The Calendar*'s conception of the 'sluggishness' (in Eliot's words, 'shrivel[led]') of the British literary scene.[113] Other journals, such as *The London Mercury*, were hostile to the kind of writing Rickword and his associate editors wished to publish: 'They wrote things like "You can't get blood out of a Stein."'[114] Tellingly, the first mention of Crane in *The London Mercury* was in 1935, while he was first noticed in the London *Bookman* in 1932 in a review of Untermeyer's anthology of American poetry *The Book of Living Verse.*[115] After *The Calendar* published John Crowe Ransom's 'Thoughts on the Poetic Discontent' in the sixth number (August 1925), it began to regularly include American writers.[116] Rickword's 'Valediction Forbidding Mourning' is a marker indicative of shifts in *The Calendar*'s editing policy. Jason Harding suggests that in the 'Valediction' Rickword may have had 'Eliot's neglectful treatment of American literature in mind' when he commented on 'blunders with regard actual works of poetry', noting that 'Eliot declined submissions from William Carlos Williams, Gertrude Stein, John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Laura Riding, R. P. Blackmur and F. Scott Fitzgerald'—many of whom appeared in *The Calendar.*[117] This was underlined by Rickword's comments that the 'demise' was due to a lack of work of 'quality' as a result of 'the tremendous number of young men killed in the catastrophe of World War I'. There was, for Rickword no 'justif[ication]' in 'carrying on'.[118] Aside from Rickword's implicit dismissal of female writers, this might explain the editor's increasing interest in the American scene, particularly given the fact that *The Calendar* was available in New York, Boston and San Francisco while *The Criterion* was less widely

[111] This was the only journal publication to refer to *The Bridge*.
[112] Rickword, intv. by Michael Schmidt and Alan Young, 'A Conversation with Edgell Rickword', *Poetry Nation*, 1 (1973), pp. 73-89 (p. 78).
[113] Rickword, 'A Conversation with Edgell Rickword', p. 78; Eliot as quoted in Harding, *The Criterion*, p. 7.
[114] Rickword, 'A Conversation with Edgell Rickword', p. 78
[115] Geoffrey Grigson, 'Poetry of 1932', *The Bookman*, 83.495 (December 1932), pp. 177-78.
[116] Ransom, 'Thoughts on the Poetic Discontent', *The Calendar*, 1.6 (August 1925), pp. 461-463.
[117] Harding, *The Criterion,* pp. 55, 163.
[118] Rickword, 'A Valediction Forbidding Mourning', *The Calendar,* 4.2 (July 1927) pp. 1175-76 (p. 1176).

available, and, although Faber had tried to sell the journal in the U. S. it had not been popular.[119]

Herbert Read's 'Foreign Reviews' feature in the back-pages of *The Criterion* was attentive to continental European and American avant-garde literature, with a clear focus on the American Futurist magazines. Read followed *Broom*, *Secession* and *1924* through reviews, and in February 1924 commented revealingly on *Secession*'s issue from the previous September: '"For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen" by Hart Crane has been excised by the censor, leaving rather a dull number.'[120] In July 1926, *The Calendar* published three of Crane's poems, 'At Melville's Tomb', 'Praise for an Urn' and 'Passage', and, as Crane told Frank, 'At Melville's Tomb' and 'Passage' had been hard to place in the U.S.[121] Indeed, Rickword was so interested in Crane's poetry after this first submission that he requested a copy of *White Buildings* and then, albeit unsuccessfully, attempted to secure its publication with *The Calendar*'s publisher, Wishart.[122] Like other American poets, Crane found *The Calendar* a 'very decent quarterly' and more hospitable than *The Criterion,* which he, nonetheless, deemed 'representative of the most exacting literary standards of [the] times.'[123] Pinning down Eliot's opinion of Crane is more difficult. His multiple rejections of Crane suggest he had reservations about his poetry. However, Eliot did write to Crane's mother after his death, telling her that 'much of his work I admired very much. There are very few living poets in America of equal interest to me.'[124] This admiration seems to have been genuine. Eliot is likely to have had Crane in mind as he was writing lines from 'Burnt Norton' in 1935: 'descend lower, descend only'; this moment seems to recall Crane's final lines of 'Quaker Hill': 'descend—| descend', lines that preface his close engagement with Eliot in 'The Tunnel'.[125]

In contrast to the proem, which begins with a seagull leaving its perch on Brooklyn Bridge*,* 'Southern Cross', which opens the 'Three Songs' in *The Calendar*, sets an erotic tone for the forthcoming poem—or even highlights the sexual undercurrents of *The Bridge*. The poem opens:

I WANTED you, nameless Woman of the South,

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[119] Harding, *The Criterion*, p. 55.
[120] Herbert Read, 'Foreign Reviews', *The Criterion*, 2.6 (February 1926), p. 226. The 'censor' was probably Munson, who excised 'Faustus' from as many copies of *Secession* as he could. Crane to Munson, 28 October 1923, *Letters*, p. 154.
[121] Crane to Frank, 19 June 1926, *OML*, pp. 255-257 (p. 257).
[122] Rickword to Crane, 24 December 1926, box 7, Crane Papers (New York). Between Liveright and Rickword it was decided that it would be impossible to recoup enough of the costs of publishing 'particularly "difficult" poetry as Hart Crane's, particularly given the 'small […] 'market for poetry'. Rickword to Liveright 2 Feb 1927, box 7, Crane Papers (New York).
[123] Crane to Frank, 19 June 1926, *OML,* p. 257; Crane to Otto Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* p.348.
[124] Eliot to Grace Hart Crane, 29 June 1932, box six, Crane Papers (New York).
[125] Crane, 'Quaker Hill', *Complete*, p. 94, ll. 73-75; Eliot, 'Burnt Norton', *Complete*, pp. 171-76, (p. 174), l. 117.

No wraith, but utterly—as still more alone
The Southern Cross takes night
And lifts her girdles from her, one by one
Close, cool,
high from the smoking lice
Of slower heavens,
vaporous scars!
Eve! Magdalene!
or Mary, you?[126]

'To Brooklyn Bridge' begins:

How many dawns, chill from his rippling rest
The sea gull's wings shall dip and pivot him,
Shedding white rings of tumult, building high
Over the chained bay waters Liberty—[127]

The first lines of 'National Winter Garden', which open the 'Three Songs' section, begin:

Outspoken buttocks in pink beads
Invite the necessary cloudy clinch
Of bandy eyes…No extra mufflings here:
The world's one flagrant, sweating cinch.[128]

The 'Three Songs' suited *The Calendar*'s continued interest in erotic literature, as demonstrated by 'one of the first essays sympathetic to de Sade' and poetic contributions such as Rickword's own 'Absences', where 'ii' ends:

Under their sharp caressing stroke
The foliage of our love revives,
Through your face pale when anguish broke
Alone on Night's dead sea survives.[129]

Though, at first glance, beginning with the 'Three Songs' seems to significantly alter the emphases of *The Bridge*, the proem actually draws on the charged opening lines from the most explicit of the 'Voyages IV':

Whose counted smile of hours and days, suppose
I know as spectrum of the sea and pledge
Vastly, now parting gulf on gulf of wings
Whose circles bridge, I know, (from palms to the severe

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[126] Crane, 'Southern Cross', *The Calendar*, p. 107, ll. 1-10.
[127] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *The Dial*, p. 489, ll. 1-4.
[128] Crane, 'National Winter Garden', p. 109, ll. 1-4.
[129] Young and Schmidt, 'A Conversation with Rickword', p. 81; Rickword, 'Absences', *The Calendar* 1.3 (May 1925), pp. 186-193, ll. 4-8.

Chilled albatross's white immutability)
No stream of greater love advancing now
Than, singing, this mortality alone
Through clay aflow immortally to you.[130]

The lines from the proem pick up on this depiction of the gull's flight in 'IV' where the bird flies across the horizon: 'parting' of the sea and the sky, while the 'bridge' image naturally links the two poems, Crane uses his own poetic codes in the proem to make the 'Thee' (though clearly also addressing the bridge) more ambiguous in later lines. The subtle eroticism of the proem links to charged scenes elsewhere—often opening lines—such as 'Powhatan's Daughter' ('The Dance') also published in 1927, in *The Dial*, which begins: 'The swift red flesh', or, 'Outspoken buttocks' in 'National Winter Garden', following 'Southern Cross' in *The Calendar.*[131]

After Eliot rejected 'To Brooklyn Bridge' Crane sent him the part of *The Bridge* perhaps most engaged with *The Waste Land*: 'The Tunnel'. In the assembled poem 'The Tunnel' works as the moment of descent familiar from the epic, introduced by the final lines of 'Quaker Hill': 'descend—| descend—'.[132] The narrative then shifts from the 'Performances, assortments, resumes' and 'hiving swarms' of Times Square and Columbus Circle Lights down to the 'underground…motion' of the 'L train' with the subway offering the commuter 'the quickest promise home'.[133] The commuters of 'The Tunnel' recall those of *The Waste Land* 'flow[ing] over London Bridge', but Crane inverts the image to the subterranean subway system; the New York City subway, twenty-three years old at the time of 'The Tunnel's publication, was the modern method of cutting across swathes of the city.[134] Crane closely follows the subway's geography. Where the commuter walks 'underneath the L for a brisk| Ten blocks or so', Crane is pinpointing the location exactly at Broadway, where the L train would have briefly emerged, elevated above the street, offering the same level of careful detail to the subway as he does to the Mississippi River.[135] Crane, instead of the anonymous crowd on London Bridge, follows a single commuter. Although Crane relies on the mytheme of descent, he is careful (in the first half of the poem) to avoid closely aligning 'the commuter' to paradigmatic moments of descent to the underworld, such as Odysseus or Aeneas, or to the bathos of Eliot's Tiresias, transplanted

[130] Crane, 'Voyages IV', *Complete Poems,* p. 37, ll. 1-8.
[131] Crane, 'Powhatan's Daughter', p. 329, l. 1.
[132] See footnote 125, Chapter IV.
[133] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 398, ll. 1-5, 19.
[134] Eliot, *The Waste Land*, p. 62, l. 61.
[135] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 398, ll. 19-20.

from Thebes, below the wall' to a London bedsit where he watches the uncomfortable encounter between the 'house-agent's clerk', 'young carbuncular' and 'the Typist'.[136]

The nature of this moment of descent is ambiguous, but this is less obvious in its *Criterion* context; the equivocal tone here depends on links (often rhythmic patterns) to other sections of *The Bridge*. As Crane's commuter ventures into the subway he is greeted with the rhythms of jazz music (immediately familiar from 'Van Winkle' and 'Cutty Sark') rather than shades or scenes of pathos. He 'press[es] the coin' into 'the turnstile' and the form shifts back to the patterns of the weary second stanza ('Then let you reach your hat| and go. As usual') where Crane writes in trochees, their strictness sounding tired in their emphasis of the routine: 'as usual'. The fifth stanza reads:

> And so
> of cities you bespeak
> subways, rivered under streets
> and rivers…In the car
> the overtone of motion
> underground, the monotone
> of motion is the sound
> of other faces, also underground—[137]

Crane switches between iambic and trochaic metres that, though unsettled with the switch at 'subways', gradually shifts into a stricter iambic pattern that, yet, becomes more lively and syncopated through the repeated 'o' and 'ou' sounds—where echoing forces those tones to prominence. The repeated, but shifting, sounds in 'overtone', 'motion', underground', 'monotone' work as a kind of poetic form of modulation, which, in its jazz form, sees the repetition of key musical phrase repeated, but transposed or rhythmically altered. Crane's reported speech (recalling Eliot's use of the demotic in 'A Game of Chess' and 'Sweeney Agonistes'[138]) relies on this device of modulation to give the sense that he is capturing the contemporary vernacular, with jazz rhythms used to emulate the patterns of modern speech.

> And repetition freezes. 'What
>
> 'what did you want? getting weak on the links?
> Fandaddle daddy don't ask for change—IS THIS
> FOURTEENTH? it's half past six she said—if
> you don't like my gate why did you

[136] Eliot, *The Waste Land*, p. 68, ll. 230-248.
[137] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 399, ll. 31-38.
[138] Eliot, 'A Game of Chess', *The Waste Land*, pp. 64-66; Eliot, *Poems, 1920* in *Complete Poems*, pp. 37-58.

swing on it, why *didja*
swing on it
anyhow—'

And somehow anyhow swing—

The phonographs of hades in the brain
Are tunnels that re-wind themselves, and love
A burnt match skating in a urinal—[139]

'[P]honographs of hades' deliberately, but ironically, connects the descent to the subway to the mytheme of the descent to hell. Crane's line is delivered with a smirk. He is, like Eliot, 'play[ing] upon the relationship between popular culture and "high browed" culture' with 'O O O O that Shakespeherian Rag', paraphrasing contemporary views on jazz.[140] In March 1921, The *New York Tribune*, tongue in cheek, noted that in the U.S. 'no one' would 'put even a passing word in defence of jazz. Only the devil's advocate could do that'.[141] These comments echoed a wider racist discourse, as documented by the progressive newspaper, *The Dallas Express* in May 1921. *The Dallas Express* noted that Dr John Dill Robertson (Chicago's health commissioner) had 'decreed jazz is all wrong. Jazz must be sent to the devil to keep the white people from going to him.'[142] 'The phonographs of hades' shows a similar 'studied irreverence' to Eliot's 'Shakespeherian ragging', particularly given that Crane puns on the popular ragtime record 'Swing on the Gait' with 'if you don't like my gate why did you | swing on it'.[143] The commuter, overhearing this conversation in syncopated rhythms, finds the percussive aural landscape of the subway analogous to a chaotic jazz composition, which Crane reflects back into the language using these modulated phrases.[144] The syncopation in these lines verges on those of ragtime, even the

[139] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 400, ll. 50-60.
[140] Haughton, 'Allusion: The Case of Shakespeare', in *T.S Eliot in Context*, pp. 157-168 (p. 163). Eliot seems to be similarly tongue in cheek as he has the woman of the 'Game of Chess' mechanically singing 'O O O O that Shakespeherian Rag', a 1912 parody of 'That Mysterious Rag' and so, presumably (given that 'the sounds of popular music inspired Eliot's rhythms, his treatment of rhyme, the shaping of his lines') has her buying into this popular view of the genre. See: Josh Epstein, *Sublime Noise: Musical Culture and the Modernist Writer* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2014), p. 78.
[141] R. A. Parker, 'Paris, Madly Jazzing, Sees Jazz as the Music of the Future', *New York Tribune* (March 20, 1921), p. 7.
[142] Robertson in "A. N. P", 'They Say Now That Jazz Beat the Kaiser', *The Dallas Express* (21 May 1921), p. 1.
[143] 'Swing on the Gait' was a record put out by Caroll Gibbons and his quintet around the same time as Crane was writing the poem. Brian A. L. Rust and Sandy Forbes, *British Dance Bands on Record: 1911-1945* (London: General Gramophone Publications, 1987), p. 1349.
[144] Harding, 'T. S. Eliot's Shakespeare', *Essays in Criticism*, 62. 2 (2012), pp. 160-177 (p. 162).

rhythms of scat singing (the first known scat recording is by Al Jolson from 1911),[145] formed through the use of consonance and repeated unstressed syllables to the end of the line 'Fandaddle daddy don't ask for change—'. 'Fandaddle', it seems, is Crane's neologism, combining fandangle, panhandle/handler and daddy—the latter meant in its jazz slang sense.[146] 'And somehow anyhow swing—' works as an interjection, possibly the commuter's voice as he recognises the swung formulations in the overheard conversation and slips into the form himself, after the initial antiquated 'Bespeak'.[147] The 'swing' is embedded in the line as Crane employs a duplication of swinging rhythms and forms. The shift from 'anyhow' back to 'somehow' and 'anyhow' again is another type of modulation as the metrics shift from dactyl to iamb to dactyl. This jazz form, carefully explicated in 'The Tunnel' was, for Crane, '[s]omething clean, sparkling, elusive!', and is part of Crane's anxious dialogue with the 'damned dead' world of *The Waste Land*; it works through a process of adopting some techniques familiar from Eliot, but, in the first half of the poem, shifting the tone to the euphoric, even cacophonic, strains of 1920s New York; the 'descent' into the subway, rather than being banal, alleviates the boredom of the workplace routine described in the opening lines.

'The Tunnel' functions differently in its fragment form in *The Criterion* to its appearance in the reassembled *Bridge*. This is, to a large extent, due to this complex patterning between the 'interwoven strands' of the sections. The most obvious point here is that 'The Tunnel's' placement in *The Criterion* highlights its complicated engagement with *The Waste Land*. The final lines of the poem, in particular, are revealing of the different readings prompted by 'The Tunnel' in its fragment and assembled forms:

> And this thy harbour, O my City, I have driven under,
> Tossed from the coil of ticking towers… To-morrow,
> And to be…Here by the River that is East—
> Here at the waters' edge the hands drop memory;
> Shadowless in that abyss they unaccounting lie.
> How far away the star has pooled the sea—
> Or shall the hands be drawn away, to die?

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[145] 'Scat Singing', *Encyclopaedia of African American Popular Culture*, ed. by Jessie Carney Smith (Denver: Greenwood, 2011), p. 1251

[146] Crane, 'The Tunnel', *The Criterion*, p. 399, l. 51; 'fandangle', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/68036?redirectedFrom=fandangle> accessed 20. 11. 15; See: 'daddy' *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46825?redirectedFrom=daddy> accessed 20. 11. 15.

[147] 'Swing', as it relates to jazz, was active from 1899 according to the *OED*. 'swing, n.2', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/195886?rskey=EXfBSr&result=2&isAdvanced=false> accessed 20. 11. 15.

Kiss of our agony Thou gatherest,

O Hand of Fire

gatherest—[148]

In its *Criterion* context, we are left in *The Bridge*'s version of the *Purgatorio*, at the river's edge riffing on Eliot with 'the hands that drop memory' (Crane presumably had 'mixing memory and desire' in mind here), the 'tugboat, wheezing wreathes of steam' that resembles Eliot's 'boat […] beating obedient | To controlling hands' and the 'sweat[ing]' river with 'barges' that 'drift| With the turning tide'.[149] In the final lines ('O hand of Fire| gatherest—') Crane was remembering Eliot's 'O Lord Thou pluckest me out…burning' (which also alludes to, as Eliot points out in his notes, 'Saint Augustine's *Confessions*, again').[150] In the assembled poem it is clear that this engagement with Eliot in 'The Tunnel' is part of a wider intertextual dialogue; 'Cape Hatteras', for instance, is in close dialogue with Whitman, and 'Cutty Sark' with Herman Melville and, through its calligramme form, Apollinaire—as Crane wrote to Rickword, the poem was intended to resemble 'ships [that] meet and pass in line and type'.[151] Illustrating the different ways that these allusions function in their fragment and assembled forms, in *The Bridge,* these last lines from 'The Tunnel' equally recall Crane's from 'Ave Maria':

And kingdoms

naked in the trembling heart—

Te Deum laudamus

O Hand of Fire[152]

Spoken here by Christopher Columbus, this multi-layered allusion signals the literary politics at stake here by associating Eliot's phrase with the beginning of the European colonization of the Americas. 'The Tunnel', too, sees a 'Wop washerwoman' fashioned as a latter day Columbus ('O Genoese'—Columbus was born in Genoa, and this was Whitman's moniker for the colonist) and this allusion, in the assembled form, is anticipated by lines in 'Ave Maria', published in *The American Caravan* two months before 'The Tunnel' appeared in *The Criterion:*

I thought of Genoa: and this truth, now proved,

That made me exile in her streets […][153]

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[148] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 402, ll. 129-137.

[149] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Purgatory*, ed. and trans. by Mark Musa (London: Penguin, 1985); Eliot, *The Waste Land*, pp. 74, 69, 70, ll. 418-421, 266, 273, 268-269.

[150] Ibid p. 70, ll. 308-310; Eliot, 'Notes on *The Waste Land', Collected Poems*, pp. 76-80 (p. 79).

[151] Crane to Rickword, 7 January 1927, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).

[152] Crane, 'Ave Maria', *The American Caravan*, 1 (September 1927), pp. 804-806 (p. 806), ll. 90-92.

[153] Irwin has also noted this allusion in *Hart Crane's Poetry*, p. 100.

Without the accompanying lines from 'Ave Maria', this link to Columbus is lost—and so is Crane's wry comment on the dominance of European forms and touchstones in American letters. *The American Caravan*, 'a yearbook conducted by literary men in the interests of growing American literature', also took 'The River' for its 1928 edition.[154] 'The River' with its 'slogans of the year' for 'Tintex—Jalapac—Certain-teed Overalls ads', 'playbill[s]' and 'RADIO ROARS IN EVERY HOME WE HAVE' was, like 'Ave Maria', complemented by its appearance in 'Yearbook of American Literature".[155] The annual aimed to showcase new, experimental American writing that illustrated contemporary 'American life' alongside established poets, such as Robert Frost.[156]

The tradition of the European epic, as Crane saw it, was exemplified rather than challenged in expatriate Eliot's 'damned dead' *Waste Land* earlier in the decade. Crane, though, aimed to transplant some of the structural framework of the epic to a distinctly U.S. setting, utilising both key historical figures and events, and the quotidian details of turnstiles, tickets, 'shoes, umbrellas'. Crane is scathing about the adverts in the train, perhaps because of his own background working in advertising, contrasting the near spiritual meeting of 'eyes like agate lanterns' across the train car with 'the toothpaste and the dandruff ads'.[157] But, the moment of the 'eyes meeting' is not deflated by the 'dandruff' ads, but manages to surpass the surrounding banality of the train carriage, with this moment ending ecstatically:

> And did their eyes like unwashed platters ride?
> And Death, aloft—gigantically down
> Probing through you toward me, O Evermore![158]

Here, the 'eyes', 'probing through you toward me' recalls lines from the opening section of 'Faustus':

> Then I might find your eyes across an aisle,
> Still flickering with those prefigurations—
> Prodigal, yet uncontested now,
> Half-riant before the jerky window frame.
>
> There is some way, I think, to touch

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[154] The editors 'inscribed' the first volume to 'a teacher, Alfred Stieglitz', *The American Caravan*, 1 (September 1927), front pages. Interestingly, Eliot declined Paul Rosenfeld's invitation to appear in *The American Caravan.* Eliot to Rosenfeld, 24 July 1926, *Eliot Letters,* III, p. 221.
[155] Crane, 'The River', pp. 804-806.
[156] The editors, *The American Caravan,* 1 (September 1927), ix. For detail on the products Crane cites see John Baker, 'Commercial Sources for Hart Crane's 'The River', *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature,* 6.1 (Winter-Spring 1965), pp. 45-55.
[157] Crane, 'The Tunnel', p. 400, ll. 29, 74, 87.
[158] Ibid., l. 78.

Those hands of yours that count the nights
Stippled with pink and green advertisements.[159]

Apollinaire wrote similarly in 'Zone':

You read handbills catalogues advertisements that
sing out loud and clear
There is where poetry is this morning and for prose
there are the newspapers[160]

For Crane, like 'Apollinaire' in 'Zone', these everyday details are utilised for contrast rather than bathos. In its fragment form here there are optimistic hints in the text, but the underground landscape of the subway does not give way to the 'bound cable strands' and 'the arching path' of the 'Atlantis' section. As a fragment, this section does not—as Crane hoped *The Bridge* would—go 'through' Eliot to the 'ecstatic goal' of 'Atlantis'. In this form, isolated from its wider context, 'The Tunnel' seems absorbed with, in Crane's words, Eliot's 'steady pessimism'.[161] Essentially, the whole process of the poem's engagement with *The Waste Land* is not revealed here. Working 'through' Eliot was key to Crane's understanding of what the capabilities of the American long poem, or 'modern equivalent' of the epic might be.

Michael Roberts, in his note on Crane in the 1936 *Faber Book of Modern Verse*, misquotes Allen Tate's 'Retroduction to American History' with the line 'the Parthenon | in Tennessee stucco| Art for the sake of death'. Roberts forgets 'Tennessee' from the line, a detail we need to be able to make a revealing distinction between Crane 'ecstasy' and Tate's cynicism.[162] Crane's long poem is populated by Rip Van Winkle from Washington Irving's 1819 story (in the same poem, Crane cannot resist mentioning 'Sleepy Hollow'), Columbus, Walter Raleigh, Thomas Jefferson and his daughter, Mary, and Pocahontas. Although Crane invokes the bloody colonial history of the Americas he is, as Reed points out, generally 'disquietingly uncritical in his embrace of the founding myths of the U. S.'.[163] Crane's use of these figures asserts his belief that modern poetry can utilize both the 'American mythos' and quotidian details, in contrast to the bathos of Tate's 'Retroduction', where 'Hermes decorates | a cornice on the Third National Bank. The 'cinema' and the subway are, then, as capable a subject as the magisterial Brooklyn Bridge or the Southern Cross (a constellation visible from the Southern Hemisphere). For Crane, *The Bridge* with its

[159] Crane, 'Faustus II', p.1, ll. 22-28.
[160] Apollinaire, 'Zone', as quoted in S. I. Lockerbie, 'Introduction', *Calligrammes*, trans. by Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 5.
[161] Crane to Wiegand, 20 January 1923, *OML*, pp. 120-122 (p. 121).
[162] *The Faber Book of Modern Verse*, ed. by Michael Roberts (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), p. 10; Tate, 'Retroduction to American History', *Collected Poems 1919-1976* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), pp. 11-12 (p. 11), ll. 20-23.
[163] Reed, *Lights*, p. 139.

American subject is not Tate's 'stucco', or a cheap imitation of classical marble, but is carving out its own space through its experimentation with the long form poem.

The Calendar context of 'Virginia' stimulates variant readings of the poem. Within the 'Three Songs', 'Virginia' (the final song) is set apart due to its jaunty rhythm, perfect rhymes and short lines; the continuity between the poems is not, in the magazine context, immediately apparent. In the assembled *Bridge*, though, a sudden change in rhythm is cause for close attention. 'Virginia' begins:

> O rain at seven,
> Pay-check at eleven—
> Keep smiling the boss away,
> Mary (what are you going to do?)
> Gone seven—gone eleven,
> And I'm still waiting you—
>
> O blue-eyed Mary with the claret scarf,
> Saturday Mary, mine![164]

The rhythm and lineation of 'Virginia' are in stark contrast to the laconic pace of the preceding poems in *The Calendar* fragment, 'Southern Cross' and 'National Winter Garden'. From 'Southern Cross':

> Whatever calls—falls vainly on the wave.
> I simian Venus, homeless Eve.
> Unwedded, stumbling gardenless to grieve[165]

But, as in 'The Tunnel', the rhythmic patterns of 'Virginia' refer to similar patterns that run through *The Bridge* and that, through these connections, add an ironic slant to the 'Virginia' text—conversely to 'The Tunnel', where these links help to drain the fragment of bathos by highlighting the 'clean, sparkling, elusive' quality of the jazz rhythms. This process is underlined and clarified with the opening of 'Quaker Hill': 'Perspective never withers from their eyes' (i.e. the sections put each other in 'perspective' and work through mutual clarification).[166] In *The Calendar*, removed from the interjections of 'Van Winkle' ('*And Rip forgot the office hours, | and he forgot to pay| Van Winkle sweeps a tenement| Way down on Avenue A*'), and 'Cutty Sark' ('*O Stamboul Rose—dreams weave the rose!*') [original formatting] and 'The Tunnel' ('fandaddle daddy don't ask for change') the tone of 'Virginia' appears naïve.[167] The poem, focusing on a typist similar to Eliot's, jauntily narrates an unnamed lover waiting for

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[164] Crane, 'Virginia', p. 110, ll. 1-8.
[165] Crane, 'Southern Cross', p. 107, ll. 11-13.
[166] Crane, 'Quaker Hill', *Complete Poems*, pp. 92-94 (p. 92), l. 1.
[167] Original formatting. Crane, 'Van Winkle', p. 128, ll. 14-17; 'Cutty Sark', *transition*, p. 116, l. 13; 'The Tunnel', p. 399, l. 51.

the virginal 'blue-eyed' Mary to finish work. As the links to the 'girls all shaping up' (getting ready to go out 'night after night') in the 'Tunnel' make clear, in 'Virginia' it is 'Gone seven—gone eleven'—and he is still waiting. The '(what are you going to do?)', said as an aside, becomes—as Irwin points out— a choice 'between which man the secretary will give up her virginity to': her 'boss' who she 'keeps…away' by 'smiling', or her waiting boyfriend.[168] This time, Crane uses the seedy encounter 'on the divan' in *The Waste Land* as a deliberate point of reference in order to unsettle the apparently innocent narrative in 'Virginia'.[169]

Although 'The Tunnel's' appearance as a fragment in *The Criterion* might have downplayed the complexity of Crane's engagement with Eliot (in comparison to the assembled volume), and the 'Three Songs' seem somewhat arbitrarily linked in *The Calendar*, the aesthetic affiliations of *The Bridge* are drawn out by the appearance of fragments in *transition*. Founded and edited by Jolas with assistance from Elliot Paul, Robert Sage and, briefly, Josephson and Harry Crosby, *transition*, like *Gargoyle, Secession* and *Broom* intended to 'join' an 'international' body of literature by printing work from 'different continents' 'side by side' 'in a language Americans can read and understand'.[170] Like Pound's *Exile*, *transition* was founded after Ernest Walsh's *This Quarter* (an Anglophone journal based in Monte-Carlo) went on hiatus in 1926.[171] In practice, though, the overwhelming majority of *transition*'s 'international' contributions came from the West—primarily America and France. Jolas's interest in founding a transatlantic journal came, as his biographers have pointed out, from his childhood spent between the U.S. and the multi-lingual 'European frontier-land' of Alsace-Lorraine.[172]

Jolas's journal, with contributors ranging from Hemingway and Robert Graves to Soupault, Hans Arp and Breton, was (relatively speaking) more of a broad church than *Littérature* or *La Révolution Surréaliste* (which almost exclusively printed works from Surrealist circles), but was still closely affiliated with the French Surrealists—to the extent that the journal was known, contemporaneously, as 'the American surrealist review'.[173] Based in Europe, these magazines did not simply offer 'reports from abroad' that were motivated by the feeling—on the part of some literary journalists—of 'the singular impotence of [the American] creative spirit' on 'survey[ing] the history of our literature during the last half-

[168] Crane, 'Virginia', p. 110 l. 3.
[169] Eliot, *The Waste Land*, p. 69, l. 244; Crane, 'Virginia', p. 110, ll. 2-6.
[170] Jolas and Elliot Paul, 'Introduction', 1.1. (April 1927), p. 137.
[171] *The Ezra Pound Encyclopaedia.* ed. by Demetres P. Tryphonopoulos and Stephen J. Adams (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), p. 288; Jolas, *Babel*, p. 90.
[172] Jolas described his dialect between French and German as a 'frontier patois', *Babel*, pp. xxi, 2. See also Dougald McMillan in *Transition: The History of a Literary Era, 1927-1938* (London: Calder and Boyars 1975) p. 9.
[173] Cowley, *Exile's Return,* p. 97.

century'—as Van Wyck Brooks put it in 1922.[174] The journal's wide range of contributors ensured that *transition* (mirroring Jolas's own writing) maintained 'intellectual independence from the main Surrealist camp'. This was, in part, due to the journal's emphasis on the 'American mythos' (Jolas's phrase), which made 'Van Winkle' an especially good fit for the journal.[175] With its engagement in debates surrounding directions of influence between U.S. and European writers, *transition* was naturally hospitable to *The Bridge,* Crane's long poem that promised 'a spiritual and natural' representation of 'the body of America.'[176] These fragments from *The Bridge* demonstrated within the pages of *transition* how this literary exchange, so often discussed in the journal, could be manifested in poetry.

Recontextualising parts of *The Bridge* back to their first publications in *transition* highlights how the 'mystical synthesis of America' can be seen in close dialogue with European avant-gardes. Crane appeared in half of the issues published in the journal's first run between April 1927 and June 1930,[177] and it was through *transition* that he met Harry and Caresse Crosby (owners of the Black Sun Press) in 1929.[178] Crane agreed to put out a limited edition of *The Bridge* with the Crosbys—ensuring a further similarity to the publishing form of *The Waste Land,* which, in 1922, came out with Boni & Liveright, and a year later as a limited edition with the Hogarth Press.[179] 'The limited edition', notes Rainey, 'occupied a middle position within the larger tripartite structure of avant-garde and modernist publication (between journal and commercial edition).'[180]

Jolas's principle of the 'Revolution of the Word' was developed while editing *transition* and is as revealing of his editing principles as his prose. The 'Revolution of the Word' pushed to its logical conclusion, advocates for a kind of literary Esperanto,[181] as suggested in the June 1929 'Proclamation'—which Crane signed, though he later pleaded intoxication—and detailed in an eponymous article from Jolas in the November 1929

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[174] Brooks's 'phases' in his attitudes to American letters have been well documented. Briefly: the 'positive tone' of his 'second phase' appearing after this disillusionment with American writing. Edmund Wilson, 'Van Wyck Brooks's Second Phase' in *Classics and Commercials: A Literary Chronicle of the 1940s* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1951), pp. 10-18.

[175] Kramer and Rumold paraphrasing Jolas, *Man from Babel*, p. xix; Jolas, 'Super Occident', *transition*, 1.15 (February 1929), pp. 11-18.

[176] Crane to Kahn, 18 March 1926, *OML,* p. 232.

[177] Between April 1927 and June 1930 20 numbers of *transition* were published. Crane appeared in nine of these eighteen publications before the first run of the journal ended in June 1930.

[178] Crosby helped edit the journal from June 1929. The final number was dedicated to the poet after his death and included Crane's 'To the Cloud Juggler', *transition*, 1.19-20 (June 1930), p. 223.

[179] Eliot, *The Waste Land* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1922); *The Waste Land* (London: Hogarth Press, 1923).

[180] Rainey, *Institutions*, p. 104.

[181] For instance, from Jolas's 'Rodeur': 'I mute in rain wind crow darkling |Nowhere stop you walkst in fir |Haende tasten apportez-moi du vin'. "Theo Rutra" [Eugene Jolas], 'Poems', *transition,* 1 (1927), pp. 144-45 (p. 144), ll. 2-4.

number.[182] The 'Revolution of the Word' and Surrealism "proper" both work through juxtapositions and collage effects, but Surrealist aesthetic principles are designed to create disorientation, or a radically different perspective on the chosen object, while, for Jolas, the 'Revolution of the Word' emphasised the writer's 'right to use words of his own fashioning' and, through the amalgamation of different languages and cognates, meaning is 'expressed' almost entirely through the juxtaposition of sounds rather than contrasting, or even unsuited, images that resisted easy interpretation. Eastman, writing in *Harper*'s *Bazaar* commented on the 'unintelligibility' of the *transition* set of writers (singling out Crane and Joyce in particular), which Crosby repudiated in the June 1929 number of *transition*.[183] As Harry Crosby made clear in his repudiation of Eastman in 'Observation Post', the last proposition from the 'Proclamation' was key: 'The plain reader be damned'.[184] As he wrote of the 'fresh vision' of Crane's poetry: 'he is dynamic energy, concentration, fresh vision, a migratory crane flying above the worn-out forest of the poetic phrase, above the false and stagnant pools of artificiality.'[185]

As he wrote later in his autobiography, Jolas's interest in Crane was rooted in similarities he found between the 'Revolution of the Word' and Crane's own 'logic of metaphor', with the 'Revolution' taking ideas present in the 'logic' to their extremes. Jolas noted happily that Crane kept 'notebooks [that] were filled with unusual esoteric words which he would eventually incorporate in the stanzas of his poem.'[186] Discussions on Jolas's concept in *transition*'s first run, which incorporated pieces by Breton, Aragon, Soupault and Marinetti's 'futuristic theory of "words in liberty"' made *transition* sympathetic to Crane's own experiments with language, as outlined in Crane's 'Discussion' with Monroe in October 1926.[187] Indeed, Eugene Jolas and his associate editor Elliot Paul (editor from April 1927-Summer 1928) cited Crane, along with Stein, Joyce, Bréton, Leon-Paul Fargue and August Stramm, as one of the writers 'showing us the way' to write a poetry of 'freer association' of 'new words, new abstractions, new hieroglyphics, new symbols, new myths.'[188] The associative metaphors Crane employed, adapted from—as Jolas put it—'the

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[182] Jolas, 'Proclamation', 1.1-17 (June 1929), unpaginated. Jolas claims that 'Crane approved the proclamation when he signed it' but repudiated it when arriving in 'New York, he was received amid a shower of ironic comment.' *Babel*, p. 111. Crane, never willing to be 'part of a group', may have regretted his decision after the more detailed, and more restrictive, November piece. Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 277.
[183] Eastman, 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', pp. 632-39; Crosby replied to Eastman in the Spring-Summer 1929 number, adding, 'I drink from a bottle of Cutty Sark to Hart Crane', 'Observation Post', *transition,* 1. 16-17 (June 1929), pp. 197-205 (p. 201).
[184] Jolas, 'Proclamation', unpaginated.
[185] Crosby, 'Observation Post', p. 201.
[186] Jolas, *Babel,* p. 120.
[187] Jolas, 'The Revolution of Language and James Joyce', *transition*, 1.1 (February 1928), pp. 109-112 (p. 112).
[188] Jolas and Paul, 'Suggestions for a New Magic', *transition*, 1.3 (June 1927), pp. 178-79 (p. 179).

revolution of the surrealists', made *transition* particularly sensitive to, and a keen publisher of, Crane's poetry with Jolas soliciting his contributions.

Crane's first poem in *transition* ensured his approval with the editors. 'O Carib Isle' was solicited by Jolas for the first issue of *transition* and the editor had been 'impressed' by Crane's poetry in *The Double Dealer* and *The Pagan* earlier in the decade.[189] Crane did not quite return the praise, finding the journal 'respectable' but with 'weak contribs [sic]'.[190] Other requests were sent for work from 'Surrealist friends' who, Jolas recalled in *The Man From Babel,* 'gave [*transition*] manuscripts without hesitation'.[191] Just as Jolas was interested in a 'freer association' of words in poetry, Crane outlined his ideas for the 'connotations of words' in his letter to Monroe in *Poetry* and his posthumously published, but perhaps circulated, 'General Aims'. 'O Carib Isle' was printed in the first number of *transition* (also published in *Poetry* in October) alongside Joyce's 'Work in Progress' (later, *Finnegans Wake).*[192] 'O Carib Isle' demonstrates an engagement with Surrealist forms, both in Crane's characteristic use of juxtaposed, complex metaphors ('lyric palsy of eucalypti', the rhythmic tremors of the plants caught by the ocean wind), and the dreamlike, half-reality of images as the object shifts in the first stanza of the *transition* version:

> The tarantula rattling at the lily's foot,
> across the feet of the dead, laid in white sand
> near the coral beach, —the small and ruddy crabs
> flickering out of sight, that reverse your name; —
>
> a silver swash of something unvisited…Suppose
> I count these clean, enamel frames of death,
> brutal necklaces of shells around each grave
> laid out so carefully. This pity can be told…[193]

Crane moves from the 'tarantula', to the 'lily's foot', to 'the feet of the dead' and the 'coral beach' as if a new, unfamiliar, landscape is gradually being taken in. 'O Carib Isle', in this 1927 form, becomes a discussion of the 'logic of metaphor' and a continuation of a similar argument from 'At Melville's Tomb', written two years before this publication. The 'dice of drowned men's bones' become the 'clean enamel frames of death' and the 'livid hieroglyph' carved into 'corridors of shells' becomes the 'name, albeit| in another tongue' drawn 'in the white sand'.[194] As in 'Melville', the idea of the 'hieroglyph' or 'the word' drawn in the sand

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[189] Jolas, *Babel*, p. 127.
[190] Crane to Allen Tate, 27 March 1927, *OML*, pp. 330-31 (p. 331).
[191] Jolas, *Babel*, p. 90.
[192] Joyce, 'Work in Progress', *transition*, 1.1. (April 1927), pp. 9-30.
[193] Crane, 'O Carib Isle', *transition*, 1.1. (April 1927), pp. 101-102, p. 1, ll. 1-9.
[194] Crane, 'At Melville's Tomb', *Complete Poems*, p. 33, ll. 2, 6-7.

(understood only as a symbol here, 'in another tongue') is analogous to Crane's idea of the 'new word', emulating how the link between signifier and signified is born.[195] These 'hieroglyphs', the 'name' drawn in the sand in 'O Carib Isle' and the 'bones' in 'Melville' become analogous to the processes of association required to unpick his complex metaphors.[196]

There are significant differences between the *transition* and 1933 (*Complete Poems*) text versions of 'O Carib Isle'. The opening lines of the version chosen by Frank for the *Complete Poems* reads:

> The tarantula rattling at the lily's foot
> Across the feet of the dead, laid in white sand
> Near the coral beach—nor zigzag fiddle crabs
> Side-stilting from the path (that shift, subvert
> And anagrammatize your name)—No, nothing here
> Below the palsy that one eucalyptus lifts
> In wrinkled shadows—mourns.
>
> And yet suppose
> I count these nacreous frames of tropic death,
> Brutal necklaces of shells around each grave
> Squared off so carefully. Then […][197]

Here, the 'name' is still discernible, but it is scrambled into a different order and the Surrealist juxtaposition of 'lyric palsy of eucalypti' is developed and the bones ('cleaned enamel frames of death') that so closely recalled 'Melville' are erased in favour of 'shells around each grave'. Likewise, the 'hieroglyph' of the unrecognizable 'name' in the sand is, instead, spoken: 'I may speak a name', 'albeit in a stranger tongue'. Crucially, it is 'stranger', i.e. more different to the mother tongue, but not an unrecognizably different, 'another', language.[198] In the 1933 text, this exploration of 'tongues' or language in the third stanza is introduced with a blitheness that resembles 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock': 'And yet suppose| I count'.[199] Crane appeared to see the two variants almost as distinct poems, keeping both versions in his *Key West* sheaf up until his death. His editors, though, have chosen to print the final version, rather than the 1927 text.[200]

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[195] Crane, 'O Carib Isle', ll. 10-11.
[196] See p. 142.
[197] Crane, 'O Carib Isle', *Complete Poems*, pp. 111-112 (p. 111), ll. 9-11.
[198] Crane, 'O Carib Isle', *transition*, ll. 12-15.
[199] Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', *Complete*, pp. 13-17.
[200] Crane kept three copies of variants of this text, rather than the 1933, in his notes—including in his own binder of the *Key West* drafts. *Key West* folder, box 9, Crane Papers (New York).

Like Jolas's concept of 'The Revolution of the Word', Crane's 'logic' borrowed, but is distinct from, Surrealist experiments in metaphor that employed 'the irrational juxtaposition of realistic images, the creation of mysterious symbols.'[201] However, Crane's associative mode avoided the renouncement of, as Breton put it, 'the reign of logic'.[202] Crane uses 'logic' as a key term in his exegeses on his poetry, and his metaphors are, though often jarring, based on associated ideas, in contrast to, for example, Cowley's 'fishcakes blossoming'. Significantly, in submissions to *The Calendar* and *Poetry* Crane paired 'O Carib Isle' with 'Cutty Sark'—a calligramme. This pairing, as well as suggesting 'O Carib Isle', which Crane later assembled with the *Key West* sheaf, might be a discarded fragment of *The Bridge*, ensured that (through their juxtaposition) the Surrealist tendencies of these texts were highlighted, and the inclusion of 'O Carib Isle' in *transition* and his *Anthologie de la Nouvelle Poésie Américaine*, reflected his own interests in similarly discursive poetry.[203]

At Crane's request, Joseph Stella's *Brooklyn Bridge* (Figure 12) was reproduced in monochrome in *transition* alongside his note on the work 'Brooklyn Bridge (A Page of My Life)' and experimentally composed photographs of 'Manhattan: 1929' by Gretchen and Peer Powel.[204] Crane hoped to have the image as the frontispiece to *The Bridge*, having first seen the painting and essay in Charmion von Wiegand's copy of Stella's 1919 'privately issued monograph', *New York: Five Oils*.[205] Crane allied the 'smashed', 'splintered' aesthetic of Stella's painting, 'modelled on the bridge's cables', to the structure, or 'pattern', of his own project:

> It is a remarkable coincidence that I should, years later, have discovered that another person, by whom I mean you, should have had the same sentiments regarding Brooklyn Bridge which inspired the main theme and pattern of my poem.[206]

There is a correlation between the visual effects of Stella's painting and the structure of *The Bridge* as a 'fragmented whole', emphasised by its publication. Stella, like Crane, chose to refract the depiction of the city across different studies (just as Crane segmented his long poem into distinct lyrics), in a set of paintings that made up his *Five Oils* series. Crane's idea for the structure of *The Bridge* was, as he wrote in letters and reiterates in 'Atlantis', to have

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[201] 'surrealism', *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/195019?redirectedFrom=surrealism> accessed 27.10.15.
[202] Breton, 'Manifesto of Surrealism: 1924', *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. by Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1972), p. 26.
[203] Breton, Ibid; 'O Carib Isle', *Anthologie de la Nouvelle Poésie Américaine,* ed. and trans. by Eugene Jolas (Paris: Simon Kra 1928), pp. 46-47.
[204] Stella, 'Brooklyn Bridge and a Page from My Life', *transition,* 1.16-17 (Spring Summer, June 1929), pp. 86-88; Gretchen and Peter Powel, 'Manhattan: 1929', photograph: reproductions, ibid., pp. 72-73. These photographs show a similar interest in unusual vantage points as Crane does in *The Bridge.*
[205] Stella, *New York: Five Oils* (New York: Joseph Stella 1919).
[206] Richard Haw, *Brooklyn Bridge: A Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2005), p. 76; Crane to Stella, 24 January 1929, *OML*, p. 395.

the fragments 'converge' in a manner analogous to a Cubist painting where multiple, conflicting perspectives of the same object are presented at once. This concept was active in journals from as early as 1907. A short story included in *Camera Work*, the journal of Crane's friend and correspondent, Alfred Stieglitz, described four pairs of eyes creating a single 'converging gaze', looking at the same hand from different corners of a room.[207] In *Blast*'s July 1915 'War Number', J. Mismorr described Fleet Street as 'curiously exciting' with 'so many perspective lines, withdrawing, converging, they indicate evidently something of importance beyond the limits of sight.'[208] In 'To a Solitary Disciple', published in *Others* in February 1916, Williams translated this idea into poetry:

> Rather grasp
> how the dark
> converging lines
> of the steeple
> meet at the pinnacle—;[209]

In a letter to Kahn in March 1926, alongside a plan for the sections, Crane outlined how this form could be expanded to encompass *The Bridge:*

> Strangely enough that final section of the poem has been the first to be completed,—yet there's a logic to it, after all; it is the mystic consummation toward which all the other sections of the poem converge.[210]

Writing to Frank, Crane reiterated this geometric idea: 'It is symphonic in including the *convergence* of all the strands *separately detailed*' [my emphasis].[211]

Despite other formal differences, long form experiments in Imagist poetry that were fashionable in the mid to late 1910s provide a useful context to this assessment of *The Bridge*. Accounts of Crane's interest in Imagist forms have been, hitherto, limited to the aesthetic considerations of early short lyrics, such as 'Postscript' in *The Pagan,* which begins:

> Though now but marble are the marble urns
> Though fountains droop in the waning light [212]

Crane's reading of *The Pagan*, Bruno's journals, and *Others* in the 1910s seems to have had a bearing on how he understood long-form poetic structures, as well as prompting his assimilation of Imagist and Decadent forms, as discussed in Chapter I. These multi-part, long form poems take a similarly Cubistic approach to form. Jacqueline Vaught Brogan defines Cubist poetry as:

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[207] J. B. Kerfoot, 'The Cloak Room Mystery', *Camera Work,* 19 (July 1907), pp. 28-31 (p. 30).
[208] J. Dismoor, 'London Notes', *Blast*, 2. War Number (July 1915), p. 66.
[209] Williams, 'To A Solitary Disciple', *Others,* 2.2 (February 1916), pp. 145-147.
[210] Crane to Otto Kahn, 18 March 1926, box 4, Crane Papers (New York).
[211] To Frank, 18 Jan, 1926, *OML,* p. 226.
[212] Crane, 'Postscript', p. 20, ll. 1-2.

> quite ironically but consistently [utilising the] fractured form. This 'fracturing' not only includes the actual forms of objects and the introduction of multiple perspectives, but extends to the fracturing of the boundary between visual and verbal representation, primarily through the use of collage. As a consequence, it is also possible to find in cubism an implicit *stasis*, emphasizing form, or an implicit *dynamism,* evoked by the suggestion of 'movement in space from the viewer,' created by multiple perspectives which dramatically challenge the long-reigning tradition of linear perspective [emphases in original].[213]

Others printed a series of long form poems that illustrate this interest in 'multi perspectives': Loy's *Songs to Joannes,* also titled *Love Songs* I-XXXIV, Mary Carolyn Davies's 'The Moon is a Girl' and Robert Carlton Brown's 'I am Aladdin: I-V'.[214] 'I am Aladdin: I-V' inches around its subject (a lover) with a different focus in each section: 'Fly speck | You are such a neat, tidy, unimportant | Little thing' (V), 'I love anything ostentatious' (III), 'a shimmering opalescent mermaid' (II).[215] Also in *Others*, Stevens's 'Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird', divided into thirteen numbered sections that create a collage-like, Cubist view of a blackbird is, in its subtly facetious title, indicative of the prevalence of this kind of Cubist experiment; the title anticipates prior knowledge of similarly structured texts.[216] Bruno published a series of works that were even more conspicuously engaged with this Cubist aesthetic in his series of chapbooks, described in Chapter I (p. 16). This was informed by, as Bram Dijkstra puts it in relation to Williams, 'the almost literal transference to literature of visual effects used in Cubist painting'.[217] Kreymborg's *Mushrooms* (the 'mushrooms' work as a metaphor for the developing poems 'carr[ied] up to my hothouse attic [...] for cultivation'), shifts around the objects of each fragment of the sixteen 'Rhythms':

> Come down, ceiling, dance with the floor!
> Walls, a minuet chaste, the four of you![218]

Kreymborg, like Brown in *Others*, presents different angles in each poem that, gradually, builds a multi-perspectival impression of the subject (here, writing poetry). While in *Mushrooms* this creates something of a disjointed self-portrait, in *To My Mother*, Kreymborg adopts a similar process, but builds an elegy through disjointed images of the

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[213] Jacqueline Vaught Brogan, *Part of the Climate: American Cubist Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 6.
[214] Loy, 'Sing to Joannes', *Others*, 3.6 (April 1917), pp. 3-20.
[215] Brown, 'V', 'III', 'II', in 'I Am Aladdin', *Others*, 1.2 (August 1915), pp. 28-30 (p. 30, l. 1, p. 29, l. 1, p. 29, l. 2).
[216] Stevens, 'Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird', *Others*, 4.2 (December 1917), pp. 25-27.
[217] Bram Dijkstra, *Cubism, Stieglizt and the Early Poetry of William Carlos Williams* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 55.
[218] Kreymborg, 'Today', *Mushrooms*, p. 27, ll. 2-3.

poet seeking his mother's advice, describing domestic details, such as her kitchen table, and imagining parts of her life he may not have been aware of, such as how she might have danced to 'that old Strauss waltz'.[219]

The Bridge is structured with different, even disparate, scenes that are connected through repeated images and rhythmic and linguistic structures that, as with the *Ten* or *Sixteen Rhythms*, build into the 'panoramic' but disconnected and fragmented 'sleights' that sketch out this 'body of America'. Similarly motivated poetry and prose was published in *transition*. Gertrude Stein, named the '"founding mother" of American cubist poetry', was another frequent contributor.[220] Like Crane, Stein appeared in the first number with 'An Elucidation'. 'An Elucidation' pivots around small-scale objects and words ('Two next. | To be next to it. | To be annexed. | To be annexed to it.') and visual objects, and, structurally, upon itself with 'Elucidations' and 'Explanations' 'questions' and 'Examples' layered upon each other.[221]

Crane partnered his interest in Cubist forms with his use of calligrammes. The calligramme, which abandons linear poetic structures, was popularized in Surrealist circles by Apollinaire's 1918 volume where this form of visual poetry, he hoped, would allow for the 'simultaneous' appreciation of text and image.[222] Designed as a calligramme, 'Cutty Sark', works similarly to Cubist forms in *The Bridge*; the multi perspectival form builds up Crane's 'phantom regatta seen from Brooklyn Bridge' while illustrating the narrator's 'frontiers' of the 'mind' with his fractured, escaping thoughts that seem like 'running sands sometimes'.[223] Variants between 'Cutty Sark' in *transition* and the volume text show Crane adding to the fractured sense of the sailor's narrative as he adds caesura to his speech. Crane adds hyphens to the line 'It's S.S. *Ala*—Antwerp—' to make it clear that *'Ala'* is the sailor struggling to remember the ship's name. 'Cutty Sark', which Crane also referred to as a 'fugue' (interestingly, while he was writing 'Moment Fugue', also published in *transition*), is polyphonic and counterpointed; 'two voices' ('the derelict sailor and the description of the action') are used to amass a disjointed, multi-perspectival view of the 'lovely ghosts' of the ships and naval histories as the narrative jumps (or 'tacks', even) from the Cutty Sark's employment as a tea clipper ('Sweet opium and tea, Yo-ho!') to other journeys: 'clipper

[219] Kreymborg, 'Dance', *To My Mother,* p. 85, l. 15.
[220] Brogan, *American Cubist Poetry*, p. 8.
[221] Stein, 'An Elucidation', *transition,* 1.1 (April 1927), pp. 64-78 (p. 69).
[222] S. I. Lockerbie, 'Introduction', Apollinaire, *Calligrammes,* trans. by Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 3.
[223] Crane to Rickword, 7 January 1927, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).

dreams', 'wink[ing] round the Horn| to Frisco, Melbourne'.[224] The italicised sections weave in and out of the narrative as accompanying mystical 'hallucinations incident to rum-drinking in a South Street dive'.[225] These lines work as interjections, emphasised by their heavily patterned rhythms, in stark contrast to the surrounding lines [original formatting]:

> […] then Yucatan selling kitchen-ware beads
> have you seen Popocatepetl birdless mouth
> ashes sifting down
>
> And then the coast again'
>
> *Rose of Stamboul O coral queen*
> *teased remnants of the skeletons of cities*
> *and galleries, galleries of watergutted lava*
> *snarling stone—green—drums—drown—*
>
> *Sing*![226]

The evenly patterned stresses work in contrast to the body of the text and, as a result, link to a wider pattern of similar interjections in 'Van Winkle', 'The Tunnel' and 'The Harbor Dawn'.

In the volume form Crane added a gloss that, in some ways, emphasises the fractured nature of the poem, rather than attempting to secure its parts into a streamlined whole. Shortly before sending *The Bridge* proofs to Caresse Crosby at Black Sun, Crane added italicized marginalia (that he called a 'gloss' in the printer's notes) that narrated the text and made links between the sub-sections clear.[227] For instance, in 'Powhatan's Daughter', the marginalia to 'Van Winkle' ends: 'Like Memory, she is time's truant, shall take you by the hand…'. This is continued in the following sub-section, 'The River', with '…and past the din and slogans of the year—'. In contrast, between 'Ave Maria' and 'Powhatan's Daughter' Crane added [original formatting]:

> *Columbus,*
> *alone, gazing*
> *toward Spain,*
> *invokes the*
> *presence of*
> *two faithful*
> *partisans of*

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[224] 'fugue' *OED Online*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/75270?rskey=c6Za4Z&result=1> accessed 27. 10. 16. Crane, Moment Fugue', *transition,* 1.15 (February 1929), p. 102; Jolas, 'Proclamation', unpaginated; Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *transition*, p. 118, ll. 67-68.
[225] Crane to Kahn, 12 September 1927, *OML,* pp. 344-350 (p. 347).
[226] Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *transition,* p. 117, ll. 28-36.
[227] *The Bridge* [MS], box 9, Crane Papers (New York).

his quest …[228]

and then:

'—Pocahontus, a well-featured
but wanton young girle…of the age
of eleven or twelve years […][229]

The links here are deliberately fractured, with '—' as an obvious interjection as the marginalia unexpectedly works against making the parts cohere. They offer only the occasional clarification of details within the particular section rather than attempting to link them together (as between the sub-sections, 'Van Winkle', 'The River', and 'The Dance' previously), and seem motivated by a similar ironic impulse to disorientate, as in Eliot's footnotes to *The Waste Land*—in Crane's case, this could also be a somewhat facetious reaction to accusations of his 'obscurity' and 'unintelligibility' in reviews.[230]

In 'Atlantis' Crane gives an analogy for how this form works for *The Bridge* as a whole, using language familiar from his descriptions of the poem in letters:

Like spears ensanguined of one tolling star
That bleeds infinity—the orphic strings,
Sidereal phalanxes, leap and converge:
—One Song, one Bridge of Fire! […][231]

The fragments, published independently, are these 'spears' bloody from their extraction from the 'star' that then 'converge' as the 'One Song, one Bridge' in the reassembled text. The poem, seen in this light, becomes a Cubistic 'convergence' of its fragments, eschewing linear form and the 'formal unity' expected by the poem's reviewers.[232] For Crane, again thinking of Schlegel's concepts of the fragment and the whole, there is an interest in 'the mass of poetry' as 'a sea of struggling forces in which the particles of dissolved beauty, the pieces of shattered art, clash in a confused and gloomy mixture', where the 'whole' is made up of 'chaotic', contradictory stances.[233] It would, though, be erroneous to say that Crane was, strictly, a Cubist or, in terms of his use of metaphor, a Surrealist. Never a poet who desired to be part of 'any group', Crane assimilated forms that he found interesting into his writing indiscriminately—as demonstrated by the complex aesthetics of *The Bridge*.

This affiliation with Cubism was not lost on Crane's early reviewers. Writing just weeks after the Liveright volume was released, Percy Hutchinson wrote a review in *The*

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[228] Crane, 'Ave Maria', *Complete Poems*, pp. 47-50 (p. 47).
[229] 'Powhatan's Daughter', *Complete Poems*, pp. 51-54 (p. 51).
[230] See Chapter III, pp. 140-150.
[231] Crane, 'Atlantis', pp. 107-8, ll. 89-96.
[232] Winters, 'Progress', p. 153.
[233] Schlegel as quoted and discussed in Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Literary Absolute: The Theory of Literature in German Romanticism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1978), p. 51.

New York Times titled 'Hart Crane's Cubistic Poetry in *The Bridge*'. Hutchinson commented on a 'theory' of 'cubism in poetry' that he found embedded in the form of Crane's poetry:

> it would call for just such work as Hart Crane has given us—the piling up on startling and widely disparate word-structures so that for the mind the cumulative result of skyscrapers for the eye when looked on through a mist. If this conclusion is in any degree correct, then 'The Bridge' is to be regarded as a successful piece of work. The totality of tonal variations and tonal massings, plus the occasional pictorial achievements, give to the entire piece indisputable weight.[234]

The fragments, through their disparate publications, quite literally 'tend to one point' ('Atlantis') 'from different places' through referential processes.[235] For instance, in *transition*, 'The Harbor Dawn' first appeared with the subtitle 'Brooklyn Heights' which cannot help but refer to 'To Brooklyn Bridge' and 'Atlantis'. 'Cutty Sark' adds to this reticulated network though the line 'I started walking home across the bridge,' while the jaunty rhythms of 'Van Winkle' are echoed in 'The Tunnel', 'Cutty Sark' and 'Virginia' (among others).[236]

Adopting this form is, effectively, Crane's avowal that a full representation of America—or indeed, of any nation or vast subject—in all of its infinite possibilities is impossible, but the Cubist aesthetic, at least, acknowledges this problem. For Crane this bears comparison to the poetic fragment, which also implicitly acknowledges the impossibility of capturing grand or abstract subjects, i.e. Shelley's 'Fragment: To the Moon', or, 'Misery—A Fragment'.[237] Incompleteness was another issue taken up by contemporary critics of *The Bridge*, and distilled into this well-worn notion of Crane's poetic failure. This form complements Crane's more general interest in problems of expression. Just as the Cubist aesthetic gestures towards unfilled spaces and undocumented perspectives (through, in painting—as an analogy—unused space) so does Crane's 'logic of metaphor' acknowledge the gap between signified and signifier. A concept Crane articulated on the back of a letter to Kahn in April 1926 highlights this further. Crane's 'image circuit' [see Figure 13], expressed through geometric shapes, is defined as 'Recognition [...] aroused by relationships between objects.' Crane describes one of the products of the associative 'logic of metaphor': the apprehension of 'two images' at once. Crane illustrates the point with the example 'sky is a dome'—a Shelleyean image, as in 'the sunless sky […] the dome of gold',

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[234] Percy Hutchinson, 'Hart Crane's Cubistic Poetry in *The Bridge*', *The New York Times*, 27 April 1930, online at: https://www.nytimes.com/books/99/07/18/specials/crane-bridge.html, accessed 17.08.15.
[235] 'converge' *OED Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/40730?redirectedFrom=converge> accessed 20. 11. 15.
[236] Crane, 'Cutty Sark', *transition*, p. 118, l. 58.
[237] Shelley, 'Fragment: To the Moon', 'Misery—A Fragment', *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 615, pp. 555-56.

'the steep sky's commotion […] the dome of a vast sepulchre'.[238] On a small scale (i.e. 'empty trapeze of your flesh') Crane employs a collage method with more in common with Surrealism. In this metaphor, 'empty trapeze of your flesh', 'trapeze' is not 'drawn from the same radius of discourse', just as the 'harp' (swapped metonymically for 'bridge' in the proem) is not semantically related to 'bridge', 'trapeze' is not semantically linked to 'flesh', but the word does convey something of the swinging movements of the dancer in 'National Winter Garden' as the dancer's body bends and shifts almost as if controlled by an external force.[239] By adopting an associative method Crane highlights what he saw as the arbitrary (but interesting) connections between words and things.

ii. Rejections, Anthologies and Reception

a. Rejections

Altogether, Crane made twenty-seven submissions to eleven journals, receiving eleven rejections, as outlined in the table overleaf. While this shows the difficulty in placing some of these poems (partly because the majority went to the competitive offices of *The Dial*) the breadth of Crane's submissions (often made simultaneously) make it clear that dismantling of the poem across a number of journals was deliberate.[240]

Eliot returned all of Crane's submissions but 'The Tunnel'. Eliot had previously rejected Crane's submissions from *White Buildings*, 'The Wine Menagerie', 'Passage' (which was then published in *The Calendar*). Early in 1927, Eliot sent back 'To Brooklyn Bridge' after holding on to the manuscript for six months and, later, 'The Air Plant'. In early August 1929, Eliot returned an unnamed 'small poem' and added that he did not 'like it as much as a great deal of your work' and that he would prefer to see Crane's 'longer pieces'.[241] The poem was, most likely, 'A Name for All', given Crane's submission of the poem to *The Dial* on November 2 1928.[242] Crane had sent 'To Brooklyn Bridge' to *The Dial* and *The Criterion* simultaneously, hoping that the forthcoming poem would be heralded by

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[238] Crane to Kahn, 10 April 1926, box 4, Crane Papers, (New York); Shelley, 'Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills', *Complete Poetical Works,* pp. 550-554 (p. 550) l. 9, 18; 'Ode to the West Wind', ibid., pp. 573-575 (p. 573), ll. 15, 25.

[239] Crane, 'National Winter Garden', p. 109, l. 25.

[240] He could, for instance, have targeted one or two hospitable journals, such as *transition*, to have the poem appear in parts, but not spread through different magazines. *transition* did not reject any work from Crane and solicited him for material. Crane to Slater Brown, 27 April 1928, *Letters*, pp. 324-25 (p. 325).

[241] Eliot to Crane, 24 Jan, 1927, *Eliot Letters*, III p. 391.

[242] Crane customarily recorded submissions on MSS. E.g. 'The Air Plant' is annotated 'RFD-Patterson, N.Y. As sent to Criterion July 16th [1927]', box 10, Crane Papers (New York). Dated by Crane's submission to *The Dial*: to Kenneth Burke, 17 July 1927, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

its inclusion in the pages of *The Waste Land*'s first publishers.[243] *The Criterion*, though, sent back 'To Brooklyn Bridge', through Eliot added that he was 'very sorry that [he could not] make use of it' and 'should like to have you appear in *The New Criterion*'.[244] Crane interpreted Eliot's letter, and positive reviews from *The Saturday Review*, as important signs of recognition.[245] He read into Eliot's letter a slightly unwarranted optimism, writing to Harry and Caresse Crosby that 'Eliot urges me to contribute as well as old Mamby Canby [Henry Seidel Canby] of *The Sat Review*, the old enemy camp.'[246]

Table 3. *The Bridge* rejections[247]

Section	Journal
To Brooklyn Bridge	*The Criterion*
Ave Maria [San Cristobel]	*The Dial*
The Harbor Dawn	*The Dial, The Calendar, The New Republic*
Van Winkle	*The Dial, The New Republic*
The River	*The Dial*, *The Little Review, The Nation, The Virginia Quarterly*
The Dance [as 'Powhatan's Daughter']	None.
Indiana [as 'Eldorado']	None.
Cutty Sark	*The Dial*, *The Calendar*
Cape Hatteras	None.
Three Songs:	
Southern Cross	*The Virginia Quarterly*
National Winter Garden	*The Virginia Quarterly*
Virginia	*The Virginia Quarterly*
Quaker Hill	Not submitted.
The Tunnel	*The Dial*, *The Hound & Horn*
Atlantis	Not submitted.

Crane sent the majority of his submissions to *The Dial* in the hope (given his uneven acceptance record at the journal) that some portions of *The Bridge* would appear in its pages. As a result, almost half of the poem's rejections come from Moore, then editing the journal.[248] Crane considered *The Dial* and *The Criterion* to have similar editing tastes: all of Crane's submissions to *The Criterion* were also sent to *The Dial* for consideration. Crane, as he had with 'Faustus' (also sent back by *The Dial*), hoped to garner some of the institutional prestige of *The Dial*—and he was, perhaps, drawn by their relatively high rates

[243] See footnote 106.
[244] Eliot to Crane, 24 Jan, 1927, *Eliot Letters,* III, p. 391.
[245] Untermeyer, 'Prophetic Rhapsody', *The Saturday Review* 6.47 (14 June 1930), p. 1125.
[246] Crane to Caresse and Harry Crosby, 30 August 1929, *OML*, p. 415.
[247] Sources for all rejections are given in Appendix 1, Table 7.
[248] Biographers of *The Dial* have historically used the publication of 'sections from Crane's *The Bridge*' as evidence of the journal's 'impeccable' taste in poetry—forgetting, perhaps, that the journal kept only two of Crane's eight *Bridge* submissions. *The Dial*: Arts and Letters in the 1920s, ed. by Gaye L. Brown (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2010), p. 9.

for contributors.[249] The editors accepted two of Crane's eight submissions: 'To Brooklyn Bridge' and 'Powhatan's Daughter' ('The Dance').[250] 'The Tunnel', Moore wrote—perhaps disingenuously, but reflecting Crane's sense that the journals had similar tastes—was sent back because she was 'reluctan[t] to publish even simultaneously' with *The Criterion* because 'our readers are in many instances readers also of *The Criterion*'.[251] On returning 'Harbor Dawn' and 'To Emily Dickinson' Moore commented that 'we are sorry that poems should ever be subjected to what would seem the shadow of appreciation', while Burke (then literary editor) worried for 'some vicarious vase broken for my head' as he returned 'The River'.[252]

Like *The Dial, The Hound & Horn* also rejected 'The Tunnel'. This 'Harvard Miscellany' (though it dropped the subtitle and moved to New York in 1929) was initially edited by its founders and financial backers, Lincoln Kirstein and Varion Fry. *Hound & Horn* was published from 1927 to 1934 as 'a college paper based on the London *Criterion'*—perhaps the reason why Crane sent them a poem with Eliot's seal of approval. After *The Dial* ceased publishing in 1929, the *Hound & Horn* aimed to take up its position by 'poach[ing] some of its advertisers, some of its subscribers and even some of its editors.'[253] Between 1929 and 1930 R. P. Blackmur—an important early critic of Crane—who had valuable contacts with other editors and bookshops, briefly helped to edit the journal and, later, 'with the assistance of the United States Post Office', Allen Tate in Tennessee and Winters in California were brought in as associate editors.[254] *The Hound & Horn* had a circulation of 2,500-3,000 and an impressive list of contributors, including Eliot, Pound, Cummings, John Dos Passos, Moore, Picasso, Stein, Stevens and Williams.[255] Kirstein wrote forty-five years later that he 'most regret[ted] our rejection of Hart Crane's "Tunnel" section from "The Bridge".'[256] Kirstein's regret may stem from, first, an underestimation of the importance of *The Bridge* (Kirstein was not 'much drawn to Crane's poetry') and,

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[249] Crane was paid $40 for 'To Brooklyn Bridge', and $80.00 for 'Powhatan's Daughter'. Moore to Crane, 5 August 1926, and 17 March 1927, box 2, folders 49-50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven). See footnote 83 (IV) to contextualise these payments.

[250] Moore to Crane, 5 August 1926; 17 March 1927, box 2, folders 49-50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

[251] Moore to Crane, 18 October 1927, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

[252] Moore to Crane, 17 Dec, 1926; Burke to Crane, 14 July 1927, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

[253] Michael Flaherty, 'Hound & Horn', *Modernist Magazines,* II, pp. 420-436 (p. 424)

[254] Leonard Greenbaum, 'The Hound & Horn Archive', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 39.3 (January 1965), pp. 137-146 (p. 138); Mitzi Berger Hamovitch, 'Journalism: Hunting for the Hound & Horn', *The American Scholar,* 51. 4 (Autumn 1982), pp. 543-549 (p. 544).

[255] The editors, 'Preface', *The Hound & Horn*, 3. 4 (July-September 1934) p. 563.

[256] Kirstein, *Mosaic: Memoirs* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), p. 187. Kirstein had an affair with a lover of Crane's, Tommy Thompson. Thompson is reported to have told Kirstein that it was on learning that Crane was homosexual that Winters and Tate's 'attitude… towards his verse' changed. Martin Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 2008), p. 161.

second, the fact that *Hound & Horn*, in its later years, was home to three influential critics of Crane—Blackmur, Winters and Tate. Despite this, the only criticism of Crane to appear in the *Hound & Horn*'s pages was Tate's review of *The Bridge* appearing in the July-September 1930 number. Although Tate wrote to Kirstein 'anxious' to write further articles on Crane for the magazine, a proposed piece was postponed, and was then published in *Poetry* as 'Hart Crane and the American Mind'.[257]

Before 'Cutty Sark' and 'The Harbor Dawn' appeared in *transition* in June 1927 (the latter subtitled 'Brooklyn Heights' and reprinted in *Poetry* in November 1927 without the subtitle), both *The Dial* and *The Calendar* had returned the poem. Writing to the editors of both journals Crane offered similar explanations of the poem's 'calligramme' form of '"ships" [that] meet and pass in line and type.'[258] Similarly, in 'Cape Hatteras' Crane uses the shape of the text on the page (both in *The Saturday Review* and the volume form) to create a 'giddy' visual spiral as the plane comes 'twist-|ing' down.[259] The calligramme forms of 'Cutty Sark' and 'Cape Hatteras' were linked to a previous draft, 'Lenses' where the lines were arranged to resemble the stern of a ship.[260] Originally Crane had imagined the affiliations with the European avant-garde would be more obvious in *The Bridge* with three calligramme poems, but all but 'Cutty Sark' was discarded for the final poem—perhaps to avoid overwhelming the text with one form. 'Lenses' remained unpublished, while fittingly, 'The Mango Tree' appeared in *transition.*[261] Crane had originally intended for 'Lenses' to 'directly preced[e] 'The Tunnel', while Crane wrote in a letter to Frank that the 'Three Songs' (enclosed in the letter) were to appear 'after 'Cutty Sark' and before 'The Mango Tree', but both poems were discarded from *The Bridge*, and Crane planned to use 'The Mango Tree' in *Key West*, joining 'O Carib Isle', another excised poem.[262]

When Rickword returned 'Cutty Sark', he commented that it trod 'on the wrong side' of 'the knife edge between illumination and disintegration'—this was, perhaps, not a surprising assessment given Rickword's review of André Breton's *Manifeste Du Surrealism* in June 1925. Though he later described his 'abrupt dismissal of Surrealism' (as his biographer puts it) as 'positively frumpish', in the June 1925 article Rickword found Breton's volume 'superficial and ignoring altogether the constructive effort in poetry'. 'Perhaps', wrote Rickword, 'M Breton will agree when he has carried his analysis a little deeper'. Rickword's

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[257] Duberman, *Kirstein*, p. 160; Allen Tate, 'A Distinguished Poet: *The Bridge*', *The Hound & Horn*, 1.3 (July-September 1930), pp. 580-85. Originally Winters had been solicited to write the review, but was 'passed over' for Tate. Flaherty. Tate to Kirstein, 3 February 1933, 5 February 1933, *The Hound & Horn Letters*, ed. by Mitzi Berger Hamovitch (Atlanta: Georgia, 1982), pp. 180-81.
[258] Crane to Rickword, 7 January 1927, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[259] Crane, 'Cape Hatteras', p. 822, ll. 140-145.
[260] Crane, 'Lenses', box 9, Crane Papers (New York).
[261] Crane, 'The Mango Tree', *transition,* 1.18 (November 1929), p. 95.
[262] Crane to Frank, 12 August 1926, *OML*, pp. 267-68 (p. 268).

comments on Breton are useful when considering contemporary attitudes towards *The Bridge*, for he added, interestingly given its echoes of reviews of *The Bridge,* that he disliked Breton's reluctance to 'organis[e] the whole into something significant.'[263] *transition*, however, was more hospitable to Crane's visual experiments and frequently included calligramme forms or pieces that utilised typographical experimentation, such as Sidney Hunt's 'w h i t e limp droop UP' [original formatting] in the second number of the journal, and Stein's 'Halve Rivers and Harbours' from 'An Elucidation' in the magazine's inaugural number, where the lines of the poem create a visual impression of the sea flowing in and out on the tide.[264]

Shortly after the 'Three Songs' had appeared in *The Calendar*, Crane sent the poems to James Southall Wilson's *Virginia Quarterly*, founded in 1925.[265] Publishing poetry, fiction, and essays, *The Virginia Quarterly* worked in the tradition of *The Double Dealer* with its distinct interest in transatlantic letters from a Southern perspective, though the editors sought contributions from across the U.S.[266] The Spring 1930 number, for instance, contained Clarence E. Carson's 'Alabama Goes Industrial' alongside Luc Durtain's 'Europe Sees America' and Howard Mumford Jones's 'Is There A Southern Renaissance?'.[267] Crane's interest in the journal seems primarily motivated by its location. Perhaps cynically, Crane first sent the editors the Southern inflected 'Three Songs'. 'Virginia' contains oblique references to Thomas Jefferson, founder of the University of Virginia, where the journal was based, and his daughter, 'O Mary, leaning from the high wheat tower', while 'Southern Cross' opens with an address to the 'nameless Woman of the South'. Crane's letter to the editor was, as Wilson noted, 'unusual'; Crane added a postscript showing his ambivalence towards flagging that these fragments were part of a larger project:

> If you prefer to drop the reference to 'The Bridge', a long poem of which these comprise a section, you are free to do so, of course, leaving the common title simply 'Three Songs'.[268]

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[263] Rickword, 'Comments and Reviews', rev. Breton *Surrealism: Poisson Soluble* (1924), *The Calendar of Modern Letters,* 1.4 (June 1925), p. 336.

[264] Crane to Frank, 12 August 1926: 'Two of the three songs have just popped out (enclosed) which come after 'Cutty Sark' and before 'The Mango Tree', *OML*, p. 268; Hunt, 'w h i t e limp droop UP', *transition,* 1.2 (May 1927), pp. 135-6; Crane, 'The Mango Tree', *transition,* 1.18 (November 1929), p. 95; Stein, 'An Elucidation', *transition,* 1.1 (April 1927), pp. 64-78.

[265] Wilson edited the magazine from 1925 to 1931.

[266] Wilson, 'The Founding of *The Virginia Quarterly Review*', *The Virginia Quarterly*, 16.2 (Spring 1940). <http://www.vqronline.org/web-exclusive/founding-virginia-quarterly-review> accessed 11 August 2016.

[267] Carson, 'Alabama Goes Industrial', *The Virginia Quarterly,* 6.2 (April 1930), pp. 161-170; Howard Mumford Jones, 'Is there a Southern Renaissance?', ibid. pp. 184-197.

[268] Crane's letter has a handwritten note from, presumably, Wilson: 'unusual letter with addition.' Crane to the editors of the *Virginia Quarterly*, 25 July 1927, box 11, folder 24, *Virginia Quarterly* Papers (Charlottesville).

Despite, or perhaps because of, the Midwesterner's address to his Southern muses, Wilson sent back the 'Three Songs', finding the poems 'not applicable for use' in the magazine.[269] Shortly afterwards, Crane sent Wilson 'The River', which reels through lists of places and significant landmarks, some of which are planted along the Mississippi, where the poem emerges as the river 'Meet[s] the gulf' in the final lines, but moves through [Crane's formatting]: 'WALLSTREET', 'the Dakotas', '*My Old Kentucky Home*', 'Kalamazoo', 'Booneville', 'Memphis', 'Tallahassee', 'Ozarks', 'Iron Mountain', 'Siskiyou', 'Cairo', 'Ohio', '*Memphis*', '*Missouri*', '*Deep River*'.[270] This was, perhaps, too experimental for *The Virginia Quarterly* which was characterised by works like Lawrence Lee's 'Fox Hunt':

> God was a ghostly fox that fled;
> But a hound can scent where fox has ranged:
> 'Before the green of the leaves has changed
> I will cry God out of his mountain bed […]'[271]

While Wilson was considering 'The River', Crane took his silence for the poem's acceptance and wrote to Kahn confirming its appearance in *The Virginia Quarterly*. However, after further enquiries from Crane, Wilson responded: 'I have not found that I can use 'The River' […] The poem just doesn't suit my needs.'[272] As a result, *The Bridge*'s U.S. publications were, despite Crane's attempts, limited to the more dominant literary centres of Chicago and New York whereas *White Buildings* had featured in two major Southern magazines: *The Fugitive* and *The Double Dealer*.

b. Anthologies

Commenting on 'revaluations' of H. D. and critical interest in her '"marginal"' poems, Lawrence Rainey asserts that 'textbooks and anthologies […] are the principal agents and registrars' of changes in 'how specific poems within that canon interact with others in the shaping of various larger canons, such as those of modern poetry or American literature.' This, Rainey notes, is particularly useful when considering how anthologies can transform the 'accessible canon' of a poet's works.[273] In other words, anthology appearances—particularly in widely read anthologies—can privilege certain poems and create something of a 'canon' among the poet's own oeuvre. Although Rainey is commenting primarily on H.

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[269] *Virginia Quarterly* Editors, to Crane, 10 September 1927, box 11, folder 24, *Virginia Quarterly* Papers (Charlottesville).
[270] Crane, 'The River', pp. 113-117, ll. 14-19.
[271] Lawrence Lee, 'Fox Hunt', *The Virginia Quarterly*, 1.3 (January 1927), pp. 48-9.
[272] *Virginia Quarterly* Editors, to Crane, 10 September 1927, box 11, folder 24, *Virginia Quarterly* Papers (Charlottesville).
[273] Rainey, *Institutions,* p. 158

D.'s place in the 'weather vane of the anthology', the *Norton Anthology of American Literature* (first published in 1979) contemporaneously assembled anthologies must surely perform similar functions. As well as the practical issue of accessibility, Jeremy Braddock points out in *Collecting as Modernist Practice* that:

> the individual work […] is mediated by the collector's often polemical apparatus (such as prefaces or self-promotional criticism) and acquires further meaning and context in relationship to other works in the collection.[274]

Crane's anthology appearances frame individual works and highlight issues relating to his reception. Crane's anthologists, naturally, had different tastes and motivations when it came to assembling these volumes. Some errors in Crane's anthologized texts demonstrate a lack of familiarity with his poetry. In the case of *Twentieth Century Poetry*, this suggests that Crane was included as a representative example of a certain (probably American Futurist) aesthetic, particularly given Benét's regular unfavourable comments on Crane in *The Saturday Review*.[275] For Untermeyer, however, who praised *The Bridge* at length in *The Saturday Review*, including sections from the poem in *Modern American Poetry* was a clear act of praise, and an attempt to consolidate the poem's position as an important work. These anthology inclusions are detailed in the table below:

Table 4. Anthologising *The Bridge* 1927-1930

Section	Date	Anthology	Editor(s)	Location
To Brooklyn Bridge	1927	*Anthology of Magazine Verse*	W.S. Braithwaite	NYC
Powhatan's Daughter *	1928	*Great Poems of the English Language*	W. A. Briggs	NYC
Powhatan's Daughter *	1928	*Anthology of Magazine Verse*	W.S. Braithwaite	NYC
The Tunnel	1929	*Twentieth Century Poetry*	J. Drinkwater Henry Seidel Canby William Rose Benét	Camb. (MA)
The Tunnel; Van Winkle	1930	*Modern American and Modern British Poetry*	L. Untermeyer	NYC

* 'The Dance' in the volume version.

When presented in anthologies, *The Bridge* is 'mediated' by the proposed canons of the anthologist. Sections from Crane's long poem were taken from small run literary journals and reprinted in volumes that were often implicitly didactic in nature and sought large readerships. Reprinting texts from small circulation periodicals highlights the tensions between "modernism" and "mass culture" as the anthologist attempts to consolidate the

[274] Jeremy Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice* (Baltimore John's Hopkins University Press, 2002), p. 5
[275] See footnotes 314, 101, 322, Chapter III.

position of their chosen canon of modern writers in the literary field and, in particular cases, within curricula. These publications offered Crane a wider audience, and also demonstrated the ability of these lyrics to function alone, but Crane was probably also keen for these poems to appear in anthologies for financial reasons. Untermeyer, Crane wrote to Tom R. Smith at Liveright, was rather 'light fingered' in his approach and, apparently, as well as not paying Crane, did not have a written agreement with either Crane or Liveright for the rights to 'The Tunnel', 'Van Winkle' and the sections from *White Buildings* included in *Modern American Poetry*.[276] This was particularly irritating, given that Crane was using anthology appearances to pay off his considerable debts with Liveright for his rather ambitious $300 advance on *The Bridge*.[277]

Although lyrics from *White Buildings* were regularly anthologised in the 1920s, the generic differences between the long poem and the collection are, again, crucial to the different effects of anthologisation on the volume. As with the journal publications (with the exception of the 'Three Songs') the fact that these lyrics were taken from a longer poem is not noted in the 1927-1930 anthology appearances. There is, too, a fundamental difference between the republication of the fragments of *The Bridge* in anthologies prior to the volume publication, and their extraction from the long poem and publication in anthologies post volume publication; while the latter assumes knowledge of the whole poem, the former does not.[278] Further, in extracting sections from the long poem, the anthologist has more power to choose fragments in accord either with the 'polemical apparatus' of their anthology, or their appraisal of Crane. This chapter tackles the pre-volume publication period, rather than attempting to grapple with the additional question of post-1930 anthologised extracts from *The Bridge* and their effect on Crane's reception, particularly for—as Hugh Kenner puts it—'journalism for which Hart Crane's suicide conferred importance on *The Bridge*.'[279]

Publishing these sections as discrete poems in anthologies further emphasises the fragmentary nature of the poem, while the reappearance of 'The Tunnel' and, in later years, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', results in the privileging of certain of the poem's sections. The 'Voyages' sequence from *White Buildings* is similarly privileged among other poems in Crane's oeuvre through its frequent appearances in anthologies. Sections from the 'Voyages'

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[276] Crane to Tom R. Smith, May 11, 1931, box 4, Crane Papers, (New York).
[277] Crane died while in debt to Liveright. The estate earned just $12.07 (with the estate earning 10% on the sale price), even after the recent publication of the *Complete Poems*. Liveright Publishing Corporation Royalty Statement, box 25, Crane Papers (New York); Boni & Liveright Contract, July 9 1926, box 25, Crane Papers (New York).
[278] Most obviously, anthologisations post volume publication almost always make a point of the extract's *Bridge* context, in contrast to the appearances dealt with in this chapter.
[279] Kenner, *The Pound Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 406.

appeared ten times in anthologies between 1927 and 1932.[280] Though, admittedly, editors would be choosing from six lyrics, four of these appearances were of 'II'. This is at a far greater rate than any other poem from *White Buildings*; only 'Praise for an Urn' and 'Repose of Rivers' were selected for more than one anthology in this period and, that said, the two poems only appeared in two anthologies each.[281]

In addition to prefacing 'The Tunnel' with the assertion that Crane's poetry is 'baffling', printing this section of *The Bridge* as a discrete text without a contextual note (aside from an unrelated comment that Crane was 'engaged in writing a long poem': *The Bridge*') has the same effect as the periodical appearances: emphasising the ability of these sections to function alone, thus highlighting the fragmentary form of the assembled text. These fragments are, then, also slotted within the literary narrative put forward by the anthologist. The inclusion of sections of *The Bridge* in these broad anthologies that 'propose canonical formations' bestowed a sense of importance upon the poem even before its publication in volume form, given the aim of the anthology to preserve as well as to categorise.[282]

There are a number of moments within the pre-1930 anthologisations of *The Bridge* where Crane is clearly 'mediated' by the aesthetic concerns of the editors. Drinkwater, Canby and Benét's *Twentieth Century Poetry* was assembled in opposition, the editors claimed, to 'fallacious practices' in anthology editing that had emerged after the recent advent of 'studying English in our universities.' In pursuit of credibility, but effacing the choices already made in assembling the volume, the editors claimed to offer an overview of contemporaneous poetry, rather than privileging a particular school of poets, which may have undermined the editors' claims of objectivity. The anthology aimed to mediate between 'university curriculums in which "modern" literature is never mentioned' and the second: 'in which the most heralded courses are entirely in the writing of the day, which is conceived of as necessarily closer to our own experience and therefore more important.'[283]

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[280] 'Voyages' ['Voyages II'], *An Anthology of Younger Poets,* ed. by Oliver Wells (Philadelphia: Centaur, 1932), p. 4; 'Voyages II' and 'VI', *Modern American Poetry: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1930), pp. 519, 520; 'Voyages II', *The New Poetry: An Anthology of the Twentieth-Century Verse in English*, ed. by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson (New York Harcourt, 1930), p. 105; 'Voyages II', *The Book of Living Verse: English and American Poetry from the Thirteenth Century to the Present Day,* ed. by Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), pp. 610-611; 'Voyages' ['Voyages V'], *An Anthology of Younger Poets,* ed. by Oliver Wells (Philadelphia: Centaur, 1932), p. 4; 'Voyages VI', *The Third Book of Modern Verse*, ed. by Jessie B. Rittenhouse (New York: Houghton, 1927), pp. 30-31.

[281] See Schwartz and Schweik, *Bibliography*, p. 159.

[282] Frank's review of *White Buildings* in *The New Republic* made much of Crane's forthcoming project on *The Bridge,* and may have had a similar effect. John Gould Fletcher wrote to *The New Republic* complaining of the damage the superlative praise could have on any forthcoming works of Crane's. Fletcher, 'The Poetry of Hart Crane', *The New Republic*, 5. 643 (30 March 1927), p. 173.

[283] Canby, 'Preface', *Twentieth Century Poetry,* p. vi.

The 'truly representative' nature of the editors' selections was, Canby claimed in the preface, both necessary to their aim to offer a comprehensive view of contemporaneous poetry, while also undermining the 'quality' of the anthology. *Twentieth Century Poetry* was designed as an alternative textbook that would also work to consolidate the position of these 'Twentieth Century' poets through university curricula: 'we do not know,' Canby explained, 'which of the authors in the decades closest to our own represent the rising curve which leads toward the future', or, he continued, 'which belong among the permanently best.'[284]

The anthologists were, Canby added, particularly interested in intertextual 'pattern[s]' found in the poetry: 'part of a design which breaks only at the loose fringes of the last moment of our time.'[285] As a result, *Twentieth Century Poetry* categorises the selected poets into 'groups', though not along national lines (English and American poets are both included) but according to 'resemblances in technique, in tendency, or in subject matter.' Crane, then, appears in a group of poets who published in similar circles (*The Dial*, *Poetry* and *The Fugitive* are common for many of the poets). Crane is grouped with John Gould Fletcher, Kreymborg, Aiken, Bodenheim, Stevens, Williams, Cummings, Herbert Gorman, Ransom, MacLeish, Moore and Riding. Among his 'group', Crane is styled as a 'well-nigh baffling poet representing the newest tendencies' and, so, at the extreme of the 'modern' poetry proposed by the editors. Crane's appearance seems to be more motived by the anthologists' desire for better 'representation' of modern movements than perceived 'quality'.[286] Given his reputation as a *'Secessionist* and 'The Tunnel's' 'rattle' of the 'L' train, 'cars', 'trains' and street lights of Columbus Circle, Crane is apparently included to represent the poets associated with American Futurism.[287] Almost resurrecting Crane and Moore's arguments over 'Again' (see pp. 122-135), following on from 'The Tunnel' Moore's biography presents her poetry as equally 'obscure', but 'brilliant[ly]' so, emphasising an apparently scientific, accurate approach:

> the only help I ever got from Miss Moore toward the understanding of her verse was that she despises connectives. […] With Miss Moore a word is a word most when it is separated out by science, treated with acid to remove the smudges, washed, dried and placed right side up on a clean surface.[288]

This appraisal of Moore throws into relief the comments on Crane's 'baffling' (i.e. without logic or reason) poetry. It echoes Benét's appraisals of Crane in *The Saturday Review* (he may well have written this biography) and Monroe's 1926 comments in *Poetry* and anticipate

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[284] Canby, ibid.
[285] Canby, ibid.
[286] The editors, 'Hart Crane', *Twentieth Century Poetry*, p. 572.
[287] See Chapter II, pp. 54-81.
[288] Williams as quoted in Moore's biography (unsigned), *Twentieth Century Poetry*, p. 577.

Winters's review of *The Bridge* as well as Eastman's charges of 'unintelligibility'.[289] These claims are at the root of commonplaces now established in Crane criticism, such as discussions of his metaphors as 'snarled' 'thicket[s]' of 'dense poetic tropes' and cursory appraisals of his 'illogic' or 'failure' in Routledge's *Encyclopaedia of American Poetry*; or, a summation of his poetry in the *Cliffs Notes on American Poets of the 20th Century* which states that Crane 'allowed profusion to mount into a hopeless tangle.'[290]

Key to *Twentieth Century Poetry*'s summary of Crane's verse is their comment, in contrast to Moore's chemist-like fastidiousness, that Crane's 'academic education was early broken off'. Emphasis is, instead, placed on Crane's manual labour (though in reality these bouts of employment were all very short lived): 'he has been successively employed as: mechanic, bench-hand, shipyard bolter-up, newspaper reporter, hod carrier, book clerk, shipping clerk, and advertising copy-writer.'[291] In contrast to the editors' praise of Moore's scientific process, this appraisal of Crane cannot help but seem designed to emphasise what the editors saw as the less delicate labour of Crane's poetry.[292] Comments on Crane's 'failure', 'unintelligibility' or 'baffling' approach, tap into, as Yingling puts it, Crane's 'alienation' from contemporary critics as a result of a common perception of 'his inability to command a tradition of texts that defined literary competence' or, perhaps his ability to rationally devise a complex poetic strategy such as 'the logic of metaphor' with limited formal academic training. 'Crane had not been a Harvard, Penn or Bryn Mawr student', Yingling points out, 'as had Pound, Eliot, Stevens, Moore, and Williams.'[293] As Tate wrote in 'Hart Crane and the American Mind':

> […] he never had such perfect mastery of his subject [after 'Praise for an Urn']. And I think this was because he never afterwards knew precisely what his subject was. That is why *The Bridge* is such a magnificent failure: a great talent is engaged upon the problem of stating a position that is fundamentally incapable of definition.[294]

The implication is that Crane lacked the formal education necessary to deal with his vast subject—something that Tate underlines by, again, commenting on Crane's multiple

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[289] Eastman, 'The Cult of Unintelligibility', *Harper's,* pp. 632-39.
[290] Reed, *Lights*, p. 101; 'Hart Crane'*, Encyclopaedia of American Poetry: The Twentieth Century*, Eric L. Haralson (London: Routledge: 2001), p. 146. Crane's 'failure' in the entry on Crane in *The Columbia History of American Poetry,* Jay Parini (New York: Columbia UP, 1993), pp. 429, 447, 436, 441, 445; Mary Ellen Snodgrass, 'Hart Crane'*, Cliffs Notes on American Poets of the 20th Century* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), p. 65.
[291] The editors, 'Hart Crane', *Twentieth Century Poetry*, p. 572.
[292] See Yingling, *Homosexual Text*, p. 174 and Michael Trask in *Cruising Modernism* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2003) pp. 109-110 for a discussion of Crane and manual labour.
[293] Given his close involvement with literary journals, I would question Yingling's claim that Crane was 'deeply alienated from the literary profession as a profession', and would suggest that knowledge of his limited formal education does seem to have affected the ways in which his poetry was received. Yingling, *Homosexual Text*, pp. 62-63.
[294] Tate 'American Mind', p. 212.

'failure[s] of understanding' and, further, doubting Crane's critical abilities. Tate suggests that the 'failure' of *The Bridge* was due to Crane's incorrect 'diagnosis' of Eliot.[295] Indeed, as Tate well knew, Crane left high school during his junior year in 1917 after attending only sporadically; Grace would remove Hart from lessons to take long trips to 'see something of America's vast spaces' and to his grandmother's plantation on the Isle of Pines.[296]

The textual variants between the anthology, periodical and assembled texts show that the anthologists printed the versions that appeared in journals.[297] Adding to this sense of *The Bridge* as an unstable poem, in the 1928 anthology *Great Poems of the English Language*, the first eleven (of twenty-six) stanzas of 'Powhatan's Daughter' are cut without explanation—a decision that is reminiscent of Moore's edit of 'The Wine Menagerie' and suggestions for 'At Melville's Tomb' discussed in Chapter III.[298] Though it would be expected for the 1928 edition to use Crane's original title (given he had not decided to switch the section title to 'Powhatan' yet), the 1942 edition of Brigg's anthology follows the same pattern. It seems the editors were fairly unfamiliar with *The Bridge*; despite an acknowledgement to Liveright buried in the volume notes, the anthology still states in the main body: 'Powhatan's Daughter, from *The Dance*', as it had in the 1927 edition. Likewise, a *transition* anthology published in 1990 erroneously selected 'Poem' for inclusion in the anthology, not realising that this chosen text from 'April 1927' (beginning, 'Let not the pilgrim see himself again') is actually the last three stanzas of 'O Carib Isle'.[299] In this truncated form, these lines from 'O Carib Isle' recall the 'running sands' of 'Cutty Sark'; these stanzas then become too easily susceptible to a purely biographical reading of Crane's own struggles with his mental health (a dubious position that has been tempting for many of Crane's critics, particularly in the association of his sea poetry with his death by drowning[300]). In contrast, in its full form in *transition*'s April 1927 number, these lines appear as an analogy for Crane's 'logic of metaphor' (see pp. 184-185), and seem to signal

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[295] Tate, ibid., p. 214, 213. This also seems to be the root of Aiken's complaint of Crane's 'disingenuous precocity' in the 'Briefer Mention: *White Buildings*', p. 432.
[296] Mariani, *Broken Tower,* p. 25.
[297] Most obviously in that the anthologies retain the 'Powhatan's Daughter' title.
[298] The 'Publisher's Note' to *Great Poems* makes pains to note that his anthology featured 'numerous selections from longer poems which could not be printed in full […] each excerpt being entirely apart from context' (p. xiii), 'Powhatan's Daughter' appears with its original subheading with the subtitle 'From *The Dance*'—these details were not amended in later editions (see the 1942 edition).
[299] Crane, 'Poem', *In transition: A Paris Anthology,* ed. by Noel Riley Fitch (London: Anchor, 1990), p. 82. Crane, 'O Carib Isle', *transition*, 1.1. (April 1927), pp. 101-102.
[300] 'He betrayed himself into the silence he at once sought and feared,' Joseph Riddel, 'Hart Crane's Poetics of Failure', *ELH*, 33.4 (December 1966), pp. 473-496 (p. 496). '[On the 'Voyages'] A death wish that was later realized by Crane's suicide', Alan Trachtenberg, *Hart Crane: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan UP, 1982): p. 73; See Ross Welzesteon on critics 'reading backward' and the argument that 'in his suicide Hart sought transcendental unity with his favourite symbol, the sea.' *Republic of Dreams: Greenwich Village: The American Bohemia 1910- 1960* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), p. 377.

the poet's difficulty with his creative practice: 'brine caked in their eyes', 'coughing for the surge again', 'I, cast within its flow'.[301]

Untermeyer's anthology dedicates half of its pages to contemporaneous writers, including Crane, H. D., Pound, Kreymborg, Max Eastman, Witter Bynner, Aiken, Fletcher and Bodenheim. Marketed as a textbook, Untermeyer's volume intended to bring readers 'nearer to the source' of recent poetry. With its implicit message to educate, and featuring many writers more used to publishing in journals with 500-1,000 subscribers, Untermeyer's volume, which sold 200,000 copies in the ten years after its first edition in 1919,[302] demonstrates the possibilities of the anthology to act as a tool for mediation between works previously aired in the small-scale readerships of most literary magazines and 'the domain of public culture'.[303] There is little doubt that Untermeyer's anthology offered far greater reach for these poems and, likely, for many other poets featured. Crane's appearances in Untermeyer's anthology, for instance, were 'Royal Palm', 'The Tunnel', 'Van Winkle', 'Voyages 'II' and 'VI'. 'Royal Palm' and 'Van Winkle' first appeared in *transition,* which had a peak circulation of 4,000.[304] 'Voyages II' and 'VI' first appeared in *The Little Review* in the Spring 1926, which had, Rainey estimates for 1922, 3,100 readers.[305] *White Buildings* sold, on average, 16 copies per month and took almost three years to sell out its first run of 500 copies (Crane had initially thought Liveright had printed 1,000).[306] *The Bridge* took five months to sell out its first 1,000 copies, but sales declined shortly afterwards: *The Bridge* sold only four copies in the first six months of 1934 while the *Complete Poems* sold only 49 copies in the same period, just after the book's release (total between the U.S., Canadian and French markets).[307] To contextualize these sales further among Crane's literary circle: Cowley's *Exile's Return* sold 983 copies in its first year of release (1934) and 'another hundred copies […] during the next ten years.'[308] Liveright viewed the publication as something of an intellectual investment; publishing *The Bridge* enabled the preservation of a text that they felt had 'meaning' that would 'not reach a large public for some years to come, though he has had immediate intellectual appreciation, and

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[301] Crane, 'O Carib Isle', *transition*, p. 102, ll. 26, 28.
[302] Joan Shelley Rubin, *Songs of Ourselves: The Uses of Poetry in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2007), pp. 98-99.
[303] Rainey, *Institutions,* p. 3.
[304] Crane in *Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry*, ed. by Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, 1930), pp. 519-535; Circulation figures from: *Modernist Magazines* II*,* p. 17.
[305] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91.
[306] Sales for *White Buildings*: Crane to Isidor Schneider 1 May 1929, *OML*, pp. 405-406.
[307] Data on Crane's sales from Liveright Publishing Corporation Royalty Statement, box 25, Crane Papers (New York).
[308] Cowley, *Conversations with Malcolm Cowley*, ed. by Thomas Daniel Young (Jackson: UP Mississippi, 1986), p. 147.

will continue to do so.'[309] Though emphasising its fragmentary nature, including sections of *The Bridge* in anthologies is an act of preservation and an index of the poem's consolidation within the canons proposed by the anthologists that, in practical terms, secures a significantly wider audience for the poem, though in its piecemeal form.

c. Reception

Writing in *Scrutiny* in March 1939 in an unfavourable review of Crane's *Complete Poems*, F. R. Leavis asserted that 'at last it is possible for the reader on this side of the Atlantic to come to a conclusion about the legend of Hart Crane'.[310] Without easy access to Crane's poems, certain issues that dominate Crane's reception are illuminated. Corresponding with comments made by John Hayward in *The Spectator* in a review of the 1938 Boriswood (London) edition of the *Complete Poems*,[311] Leavis noted that Crane's reputation rested on 'the odds and ends of him one came on in American periodicals, together with the kind of claims made for him by the critics'.[312] Leavis drew on Tate's idea from the *Reactionary Essays*, published in London in 1936, of the 'Crane legend, like the Poe legend' that he thought 'should be fostered because it will help to make his poetry generally known—and the scholars will decide it was a pity that so great a talent lacked early advantages'.[313] Leavis emphasizes the unavailability of Crane's poems in the British literary market and, in quoting Tate, inadvertently advertises the effects of the relative availability of criticism of Crane over his poetry and the dominance of these early commentaries on the poem.[314] Crane was not published in book form in the U.K. until this 1938 edition, despite Edgell Rickword's best efforts with *The Calendar*'s publisher, Wishart.[315] In contrast, Tate's *Essays* and Cowley's *Exile's Return* (both of which discuss Crane's poetry at length) were available in London from the mid 1930s.[316] Within these networks, as Leavis suggests in *Scrutiny,* Crane was synonymous with, or at least associated with, a clutch of contemporaries who, towards the end of his career, provided the standard critical models for reading Crane's poetry. These critical models cannot be properly dealt with in exclusion from Crane's unusual

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[309] The Liveright Publishing Company, to Grace Hart Crane, 26 May 1932, box 19, Crane Papers (New York).
[310] F. R. Leavis, 'Hart Crane from This Side', review of *Complete Poems* (Boriswood, 1938), *Scrutiny,* 7.4 (March 1938), pp. 443-46 (p. 443).
[311] Crane, *Complete Poems*, ed. by Waldo Frank (London: Boriswood, 1938); John Hayward, 'New Verse', review of *The Complete Poems of Hart Crane* (1938), *The Spectator*, 161. 5763 (9 December 1938), p. 1010.
[312] Leavis, 'Hart Crane', p. 443.
[313] Allen Tate, 'Hart Crane', *Reactionary Essays* (London: Scribner's, 1936), pp. 43-52.
[314] Leavis, 'Hart Crane', p. 443.
[315] Rickword to Crane, 19 March 1926, box 7, Crane Papers (New York); Rickword to The Liveright Publishing Company, 2 Feb 1927, box 7, Crane Papers (New York).
[316] Rickword to Crane, 19 March 1926, box 7, Crane Papers (New York).

publishing history considering the bearing that these practical decisions had upon the aesthetic form, emphasizing the fragmentary nature of the text when taken in its assembled form.

Crane's reception in the U.K. neatly highlights the influence of these scattered publications on the poem's reception, particularly regarding its generic classification in contemporary reviews. *The Bridge* was fairly well reviewed in the U.S., with articles in journals including *The Saturday Review*, *The New Republic*, *The Wilson Bulletin for Librarians*, *The Nation*, *The New York Evening Post*, *The Boston Transcript*, *The Booklist*, *Outlook and Independent*, *The New York Times Book Review*, *The Bookman* (New York), *The American Mercury*, *The Hound & Horn*, *Poetry*, and *The Modern Quarterly*.[317] *The Nation* added Crane to their 1930 'Honor Roll' for the 'unusual', 'original' and 'affirmative' work of *The Bridge* while *Vanity Fair* announced *The Bridge* project late in 1929.[318] Despite Crane and Caresse Crosby's careful selection of European reviewers and journals to receive review copies of *The Bridge*, including Roy Campbell, D. H. Lawrence and Eliot, *The Bridge* was not reviewed in London or, it seems, elsewhere in Europe.[319] By the time *The Bridge* was published, two likely reviewers (*The Calendar* and *transition*) had both ceased publishing, and *Revista de Occidente* overlooked the poem.

Writing in *The New Republic* in the second review of *The Bridge* to be published, Cowley, unknowingly, laid the foundations for a number of commonplaces in reviews and critical commentaries on the poem:

> 'The Bridge' is a unified group of fifteen poems dealing primarily with Brooklyn Bridge. But the bridge itself is treated as a symbol: it is the bridge between past and future, between Europe and the Indies; it is the visible token of the American continent. […] We might well conclude that such an attempt was foredoomed to failure. […] In its presumptuous effort the poem has succeeded—not wholly, of course, for its faults are obvious; but still it has succeeded to an impressive degree.[320]

Other reviewers were equally preoccupied with this notion of 'failure', though the parameters according to how the poem had 'failed' were, as to be expected, debated according to the preferences of the reviewer in question. Writing in *The Outlook* one month before Tate's article in *The Hound & Horn*, Louise Townsend Nicholl (who, like Crane, had contributed to *The Double Dealer* and helped edit *The Measure*) wrote:

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[317] Rowe, 'Bibliography', pp. 108-113.
[318] Unsigned, '1930 Honor Roll', *The Nation*, 132.3419 (17 January 1931), p. 8; Unsigned, *Vanity Fair*, 'Singers of the New Age', p. 89.
[319] Crane, Notebook relating to *The Bridge,* box 1, folder 7, Crane Collection (Austin).
[320] Cowley, 'Preface to Hart Crane', *New Republic*, p. 276.

> I do not question the publisher's statement, 'No poem written since Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* expresses a more inclusive scope or loftier intention.' Crane's work is full of vision and ideas. But he does not, for the most part, make them into poetry, into the unforgettable and inevitable.[321]

Demonstrating how quickly this appraisal of the poem became consolidated, in July Benét echoed Winters and Nicholls in *The Saturday Review*, commenting that although Crane had 'failed in creating what might have been a truly great poem […] it is a most interesting failure.'[322] Then, in *The Bookman* (New York) in September, Odell Shepherd commented on Crane's 'failure' to 'reveal something about America', describing his poetry as a 'tirade' of 'bombastic nonsense' and 'a constant succession of loud noises, pulling itself along like a gasoline engine by a series of loud noises.'[323]

Although some negative reviews can be attributed to a sense that *The Bridge* had 'failed' to address its subject, for Allen Tate and Yvor Winters the problems were formal and, particularly for Winters, moral.[324] Bearing in mind how Tate and Winters received the poem, first in Crane's frequently circulated manuscripts, and then in these sporadic magazine appearances, Crane's emphasis on the capability of these portions to function alone, exaggerates the structurally fragmentary nature of his poem. In a cutting review that appeared in *Poetry* in June 1930—perhaps with Crane's letters in mind—Winters describes the poem as, intriguingly, a series of 'magnificent fragments', after opening his review with the complaint that the poem:

> has no narrative framework and lacks the formal unity of an epic…the poem is not a single lyric, it is rather a collection of lyrics on themes more or less related and loosely following out of each other.[325]

Crane found the review symptomatic of Winters's 'pedantry' and 'pretentious classification' of the poem's genre—an assessment that may have been informed by the poem's fractured emergence through literary journals.[326] Writing to Tate in July 1930, Crane commented that Winters's review in *Poetry* had bred a number of similar complaints. Crane felt that

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[321] Louise Townsend Nicholl, 'Spring Poetry', *The Outlook and Independent,* 155.4 (1930), pp. 146-47 (p. 146).
[322] Benét, 'Round About Parnassus', *Saturday Review of Literature* 6.50 (5 July 1930), p. 1176.
[323] Odell Shepherd, 'Hart Crane', *The Bookman* 72.1 (September 1930), pp. 86-87.
[324] Winters describes Crane as a 'decadent poet' and noted 'that the promptings of the Devil or of the viscera may be mistaken for the promptings of God' in relation to Crane's mysticism'. Winters, *In Defence of Reason* (New York: New Directions, 1943), pp. 54-55. Also see Yingling on how Winters's homophobia may have informed readings of *The Bridge*: *Homosexual Text*, pp. 60-64.
[325] Winters, 'Progress', pp. 153-65 (p. 164).
[326] Winters may have ascribed to Poe's idea, as paraphrased here by Albert Cook: 'Poe, if wrong, was on the right track, as usual, when he argued that no long poem could be sustained. […] if by sustained we mean built into the heightened moment of the lyric poem. If we seek heightened moments in epic, we will reduce the epic poem to a series of purple passages […]', Cook, 'Introduction', *The Classic Line* (London: Indiana, 1966), p. xi.

Taggard's review of *White Buildings* in *The New York Herald Tribune* simply copied Winters's review of the same volume in *Poetry*, and he dismissed her claims simply as 'conducting her education in public.'[327] Mariani goes further, noting that Taggard also seems to ape Aiken's short review in *The Dial,* which maintained that Crane was a 'high class intellectual fake', while in Chapter III I examined the influence of the 'Discussion' on Taggard's review.[328] The similarities between the vague charges made against *The Bridge* in reviews are striking—this was perhaps unsurprising given the close proximity of Crane's reviewers who were, in some cases, editing the same journals, such as Tate, Blackmur and Winters all at the *Hound & Horn*.[329] For instance, Cowley's unexplained side note that the poem's 'faults are obvious' in an otherwise positive review, and Benét's almost identical, and equally unsupported, comment on *The Bridge*'s 'obvious faults' or, slightly differently, in *The Bookman*, his 'defects'.[330]

In 'Hart Crane and the American Mind', written shortly after Crane's death in 1932, Tate engages with the debates conducted by Crane's contemporary reviewers. In his first review in the *Hound & Horn*, Tate praised Crane's technique and 'vision of a heroic American past'. Like Cowley, who described 'a unified group of fifteen poems dealing primarily with Brooklyn Bridge', Tate summarised *The Bridge* as 'a collection of fifteen poems grouped in eight sections and tied together by a single theme.'[331] In this later review in *Poetry*, Tate revises his views and seems to have shifted towards Winters's school of thought. Discarding his impression of the poem's 'technical proficiency', Tate writes that though *The Bridge* was 'presumably' intended as an 'epic', the 'incoherent…framework' of the poem makes it a 'magnificent failure' of the genre.[332]

A common worry for critics of Crane has been how to address these contemporaneous charges of the poem's 'failure', 'defects' or 'incompleteness' that were laid out almost immediately after the its publication. More recent titles on Crane, borrowing from this uncontested tradition, have included: 'Grand Failure', 'Splendid Failure', 'Poetics of Failure', 'Reclaiming Hart Crane's "Splendid Failure"', and, as early as 1935, a piece by Riding and Madeleine Vara in *Epilogue: A Critical Summary* (edited by Riding

[327] Crane to Tate, 13 July 1930, *OML,* pp. 431-433 (p. 432).
[328] Mariani, *The Broken Tower*, p. 268.
[329] There is also a theme of musical analogies in these reviews—again, striking because of Crane's consistent use of the 'symphony' analogy. McHugh notes Crane's 'symphonically attuned', 'rhapsodic' form. McHugh, 'Crane's *Bridge*', p. 11.
[330] Cowley, 'Preface', p. 275; Benét, 'Round About Parnassus', *The Saturday Review*, 6.50 (5 July 1930), p. 1176; Shepherd, 'Hart Crane', p. 86.
[331] Cowley, 'Preface', p. 266; Tate, 'A Distinguished Poet', p. 580.
[332] Tate, 'A Distinguished Poet', pp. 580-585; Tate, 'American Mind', p. 215.

and Robert Graves) titled 'The Cult of Failure'.[333] Although Crane's critics have occasionally reflected on the prevalence of these appraisals of the poem's 'failure', his criticism has remained preoccupied with defences against them—e.g. *The Bridge* does not fail as an 'epic' if it is considered a Wagnerian epic, or if the 'logic' is seen as a grand scheme that can make the poem cohere if the reader fills in the gaps.[334] Both complaints of 'failure' and 'incompleteness', as well as being vague, contain the strange suggestion that *The Bridge* was being measured against an ideal, imaginary version of the poem that did not materialise—but that Crane may have imagined in letters—rather than approaching the published text in its own right.[335] Much like Monroe's complaints about Crane's 'confused metaphors', what, exactly, a poetic 'failure' is, or how it can be determined that a poem is 'incomplete' has not been defined in Crane criticism—and is most likely impossible. It does seem, though, that this sense of 'incompleteness' or Crane's 'failure' to make the parts cohere stems from its fragmented appearances in journals, coupled with the occasionally bombastic, and often multifarious claims, which frequently emphasised commonalities between *The Bridge* and classical epic forms, that Crane made for the poem *to* his critics, Cowley, Frank, Tate and Winters, in his private correspondence but, crucially, never publicly.[336]

In 'At Melville's Tomb' a sailor stares 'beneath the wave[s]', and imagines the biographies of the sailors 'drowned' at sea (now 'bones' ground into 'dice' by the tides), and the shared stories of how their ships were 'wreck[ed]' splinter into 'scattered chapter[s]'—with the odd, 'obscured' details dropped into the poem: 'coil' (coiled ropes), 'lashings' and 'compass, quadrant and sextant.' But this fracturing, or 'scattering'—which so irritated Harriet Monroe—does not empty these stories of meaning; rather, these 'obscured' tales become 'livid hieroglyphs' and 'portents'.[337] The recalibration of these 'bones' into 'dice' and 'hieroglyphs' means that these remains are seen to be oddly capable of associative meanings, even imbued with prophetic qualities, that are more than the sum of their parts.

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[333] Brunner, *Splendid Failure*; Susan M Schultz, 'The Success of Failure: Hart Crane's Revisions of Whitman and Eliot in *The Bridge*, *South Atlantic Review*, 54.1 (January 1989), pp. 55-70; Joseph Riddel, 'Hart Crane's Poetics of Failure', pp. 473-496; Mike Field, 'Reclaiming Hart Crane's "Splendid Failure"', *Arts and Sciences*, (Fall 2011) <http://krieger.jhu.edu/magazine/2011/10/reclaiming-hart-cranes-splendid-failure/> accessed: 5.12.15; Riding and Madeleine Vara, 'The Cult of Failure', *Epilogue* 1.1 (Autumn 1935), pp. 60-66; Hart Crane's "magnificent failure" in attempting to create *The Bridge* has become both a legend and a platitude': Howard Moss, 'Disorder as myth: Hart Crane's The Bridge', *Poetry*, 62.1 (April 1945), pp. 32-45. (p. 32).

[334] Reed, *Lights,* pp. 126-166; Angela Beckett, 'The (Ill)ogic of Metaphor', pp. 57-80.

[335] This is particularly clear in Tate's 'American Mind': 'he wrote to me that he feared his most ambitious work, *The Bridge*, was not quite perfectly realised. […] This vagueness of purpose […] he never succeeding in correcting', p. 210, 213.

[336] See footnote 11, Chapter IV.

[337] Crane, 'Melville', *Poetry,* p. 25, ll. 2, 7, 8.

This, in miniature, articulates Crane's thoughts on fragmentary forms.[338] Rather than an expression of disruption or chaos (or a kind of reaction to the 'crisis of modernity', as has been noted of *The Waste Land*[339]), this process of fragmentation, on its smallest scales with the 'logic' and in the larger structure of *The Bridge*, highlights the numerous associations between sections; the fragment forms, by nature, gesture to each other. These associations are encouraged through the scattered publications by highlighting numerous connections between sections across different journals—with Crane perhaps counting on shared readerships. This creates something of a Cubist form—also expressed in the minutiae of the verse—in contrast to the consecutive form of the volume. Utilizing literary institutions, the fragments of *The Bridge* were not 'shored', then, but scattered and reassembled, converging in the volume form of the poem with 'Atlantis'.

[338] See Chapter III, p. 142.
[339] Aleida Assman, 'T.S Eliot's Reinvention of Tradition', *T.S. Eliot and the Concept of Tradition*, ed. by Giovanni Cianci and Jason Harding (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P, 2007), pp. 13-24 (p. 23).

Conclusion

In 'At Melville's Tomb', published in 1926, Crane wrote of the tendency of his poetry to fragment into a 'wreck' as a result of its associative construction. Crane was worried that his method, 'the logic of metaphor', created a series of 'livid' but incomprehensible 'hieroglyphs', the result of his tightly 'wound', collaged metaphors.[1] 'I read "Faustus and Helen" to a group of people last evening', wrote Crane in a letter in April 1923, 'and very few of them, of course, understood anything that I was talking about.'[2] As argued at the end of Chapter IV, the risk of the meaning of his poetry devolving into an unfathomable 'wreck' (so well illustrated by Monroe's baffled response to 'At Melville's Tomb') was, though, for Crane, worth it; his poetry revels in the 'fabulous shadow[s]' of its ambiguities.[3]

The importance of fragment and collage forms for Crane's poetry has emerged by tracing his poetic development back to his engagement with literary journals. This thesis has found that these particular interests underpin not only the associative 'logic', but can be seen on larger scales in the forms of Crane's long poems. Crane's long poems investigate similar fragmentary collaged forms—at times even Cubistic structures, in the case of *The Bridge*. For the long poems, Crane utilised little magazine publication to emphasise the ability of their discrete fragments to operate both as parts and in a reassembled whole, and, particularly for 'Faustus' and the 'Voyages', to test the sequential arrangement of their forms. Through his publishing method, *The Bridge*, 'Faustus and Helen', and the 'Voyages' become these 'scattered chapters' both in terms of the intricacies of their written forms, and through the design of their publication.

An appraisal of Crane's poetry within the context of his periodical publishers has revealed the extent of their influence on his poetic development. This is seen both in terms of specific aesthetics such as post-Decadence, American Futurism, and the impact of proto-Surrealist experiments with metaphor on the 'logic' and, practically, as Crane used avant-garde journals as testing grounds to air experimental new work. In the case of the 'Voyages' in the 'exile' journals, Crane even received poetic responses that commented on his own work, such as Seaver's 'A Poem' or Cowley's 'Hart Crane', while his 'Faustus' can be seen in response to the debates conducted within these magazines over American Futurism.

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[1] Crane, 'At Melville's Tomb', p. 25, ll. 5-8.
[2] Crane to Charlotte Rychtarik, 13 April 1923, *Letters*, p. 131.
[3] Crane, 'At Melville's Tomb', p. 25, l. 16.

The effects of Crane's association with avant-garde journals on his dealings with publications with broader appeal has also been documented in this study. As discussed in Chapter III, Crane's close relationships with the 'exile' journals seem to have contributed towards his difficult relationships with *The Dial* and *Poetry*, and led to claims that his poetry was 'specialist', 'unintelligible to all but experts', and members of 'select circles.' [4] Nonetheless, this study has also suggested that it was his exposure in *The Dial* and *Poetry* that led to his graduation to the 'smart journals'. As a result, the editors of *Contempo*, who fashioned their journal after *Secession* and *Broom,* founded in 1931, treated Crane with a degree of reverence when soliciting him for material, and dedicated an entire memorial issue to Crane after his death in 1932.[5] In analysing Crane's relationships with individual publications, and showing how affiliations with a journal such as *Secession* could affect Crane's relationship with *The Dial* or *Poetry*, this study has sketched out a detailed view of the dynamic relationships between literary journals from 1916 to 1932.

This detailed examination of Crane's trajectory through the literary field has traced patterns in his critical reception that developed during the 1920s and early 1930s. This thesis has found that the attitudes expressed by Moore in her edit of 'The Wine Menagerie' and Monroe in the 'Discussion with Hart Crane' can be seen to set up a critical language for dealing with Crane that was reiterated in subsequent reviews of *White Buildings*, *The Bridge,* and can even be traced in more recent criticism, with accounts of his 'failure' playing into dialogues on Crane's poetry set up during his lifetime, despite his effective rebuttal of Monroe's complaints in *Poetry* in 1926.

The discussion of Crane's early poetic development in Chapters I and II and my account of his immediate reception, and its legacies, in Chapter III are tied together in the discussion of *The Bridge* in Chapter IV, where Crane can be seen pushing his experiments with the 'logic' and his fragment and collage forms to their extremes. By analysing the process of periodical publication, and the poem's reassembly in its volume form, the publishing form of *The Bridge* is found here to be part of the poem's fragmentary aesthetic. Further, the way the poem was first published, scattered in periodicals, was found to have had an effect on its reception, and is possibly at the root of contemporaneous appraisals of the poem's 'failure'.

This thesis has shown that approaching a writer's body of work through their periodical publications can be fruitful in attempting to assess development, immediate influences and reception, uncovering new works, and opening up fresh readings of more

[4] See footnotes 314, Chapter III and 14, Introduction.
[5] And even aired the now decade old grievances between the two journals; Crane, 'Dear Contempo', *Contempo*, 2.4 (5 July 1932), p. 1; the number included William Carlos Williams, 'Hart Crane, 1899-1932', *Contempo*, 2.4 (5 July 1932), 1-4.

familiar works. By analysing a wealth of often little studied material this thesis has aimed to gather together the 'scattered chapters' of *White Buildings*, *The Bridge* and *Key West* in order to offer a detailed reappraisal of Hart Crane's poetry.

Bibliography

A note on the bibliography:
Archival material follows the abbreviations set out on page iii. Further bibliographical notes have been supplemented to archival material where necessary. Individual numbers of journals cited without reference to a particular article (e.g. *The Pagan Review*) and frontispieces appear under the name of the journal title.

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Online archives and resources

Blue Mountain Project: Historic Avant-Garde Periodicals for Digital Research, Princeton University 2014. <http://bluemountain.princeton.edu>
International Dada Archive, The University of Iowa. <https://www.lib.uiowa.edu/dada/>
Modernist Journals Project: A joint project of Brown University and the University of Tulsa. <http://modjourn.org>
OED Online, Oxford University Press. < http://www.oed.com>

Appendices

A note on the appendices:

Because the bibliographies of Crane assembled by Schwartz and Schweik and H. D. Rowe were, though indispensable, shown to be incomplete over the course of this study, these appendices are an attempt to accurately document Crane's journal publications (and one pamphlet in the case of *Exposición Siqueiros*) and rejections, to introduce new works by Crane, and to clarify inconsistencies in previous bibliographies. New material of Crane's has been flagged (N), while (C) signals a clarification of an inaccurate record. Details on print run and circulation figures, including date ranges and sources, are given where known.

These appendices do not include anthology or volume publications, which are listed in Schwartz and Schweik but are not, given the scope of this thesis, repeated here. Given my aims to track Crane's poetic development and immediate reception, I have made a clear distinction between Crane's lifetime and posthumous journal publishers, with all publications included in this appendix that were printed after 27 April 1932 being Crane's own submissions. Crane's contributions are counted individually up until Crane's last submission, rather than grouped per issue as one appearance (so the 'Three Songs' in *The Calendar* are counted as three publications). No submissions made by Grace Hart Crane or Waldo Frank after Crane's death are included in this table, or in data used elsewhere in this thesis.

Unlike Schwartz and Schweik and H. D. Rowe I have not included posthumous publications in these appendices, even on the occasion that these publications saw the first printing of a text. For instance, Schwartz and Schweik list *Columbia Literary Columns* as one of Crane's publishers, when 'With a Photograph of Zell, Now Bound for Spain' was first published in 1966.

Rejections that have also been noted by Schwartz and Schweik I have acknowledged: 'S&S'. Further rejections have been determined through Crane's correspondence (in *O My Land*, *Letters*, and his archives) and that of the relevant journal's letters and archival material. The source of the rejection is described using the abbreviations listed on page iii.

Appendix 1: Tables

Table 5. An overview of Hart Crane's publishers 1916-1932

Title	Dates	Editors	Location	Type	Price	Print Run	Publications	Rejections
1924	Jul-Dec. 1924	E. Seaver; A Vera Bass	Woodstock	Monthly-Irregular	35¢	Unknown	3	0
Aesthete, 1925	Feb. 1925	M. Josephson; M. Cowley; K. Burke	NYC	Monthly (1 off)	35¢	600[1]	1 [?] [2]	0
The American Caravan	1927-8	P. Rosenfeld (I); L. Mumford (I); V.W. Brooks (I); A. Kreymborg (I & II)	NYC	Annual	$5.00	Unknown	2	0
Broom	Nov. 1921-Jan. 1923	H. Loeb; A. Kreymborg; M. Josephson	Rome; Berlin; NYC	Monthly	50¢	2,500-4,000[3]	1	1
Bruno's Bohemia	Mar. 1918-Apr. 1918	G. Bruno	GV, NYC	Monthly	10¢	Unknown	1	0
Bruno's Weekly	Jul. 1915-Sep. 1916	G. Bruno	GV, NYC	Weekly	5¢	Unknown	1	0
The Calendar of Modern Letters	Mar. 1925-Jul. 1927	E. Rickword; B. Higgins; D. Garman	London	Monthly; Quarterly	1s6d	1,000[4]	6	3
Contempo	May 1931-Feb. 1934	M. A. Abernethy; A. Buttitta	Chapel Hill NC	Weekly	10¢	Unknown	2	0
The Criterion	Oct. 1922-Jan. 1939	T. S. Eliot	London	Monthly; Quarterly	3s6d	800-1,000[5]	1	4
The Dial	Jan. 1920-Jul. 1929	S. Thayer; J. S Watson; A. Gregory; G. Seldes; M. Moore; K. Burke	NYC	Monthly	50¢	9,500[6]	13	27
The Double Dealer	Jan. 1921-May 1926	J. W. Friend; B. Thompson; J. McClure	New Orleans	Monthly	25¢	Unknown	4	2
The Fugitive	Apr. 1922-Dec. 1925	J. C. Ransom, A. Tate[7]	Nashville	Monthly	25¢	500[8]	4	1
Gargoyle	Aug. 1921-Oct. 1922	A. Moss	Paris	Irregular	5f/1s6d	Unknown	3	2

[1] Selzer, *Kenneth Burke*, p. 51.
[2] As discussed on pp. 77-78, it is likely Crane did not write 'Chanson'. See: Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 242; Susan Jenkins Brown, *Robber Rocks*, pp. 42-3; Josephson, *Surrealists*, p. 264
[3] The smaller figure is from Josephson, *Surrealists* (p. 244) 4,000 is given by Brooker and Thacker in 'Circulation Figures for Selected Magazines' in *Modernist Magazines,* II, p. 17.
[4] Harding, *The Criterion*, p. 47.
[5] Harding, 'The Idea of a Literary Review', *Modernist Magazines,* I, p. 352.
[6] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91.
[7] The board of 'Fugitives' at Vanderbilt included W. C. Curry, D. Davidson, J. M. Frank, S. M. Hirsch, S. Johnson, Merrill Moore, J. C. Ransom, A. B. Stevenson, A. Tate, L. Riding.
[8] Brooker and Thacker in 'Circulation Figures for Selected Magazines' in *Modernist Magazines,* II, p. 17.

Iarus	Feb. 1927-Jun. 1928	J. S. Mangan; V. Thomas	Paris/Lynn (MA)	Irregular	35¢	Unknown	1	0
The Little Review	Mar.1914-May1929	M. Anderson; J. Heap	Chicago; NYC	Irregular	50¢	3,100[9]	12	7
The Measure	Mar. 1921-Jul. 1926	Nine Person Board[10]	NYC	Monthly	25¢	Unknown	1	0
The Modernist	Nov. 1919	J. W. Fawcett	GV, NYC	Monthly (one off)	Unknown	Unknown	1	0
The Modern School	Feb. 1912-Spring 1921	C. Zigrosser (1917-1919)	Stelton, NJ	Monthly	10¢	Unknown	1	0
The Nation	Jul. 1865-	O. Garrison Villard; C. & I. Van Doren (lit eds)	NYC	Weekly	15¢	100,000[11]	1	1
The New Republic	Nov. 1914-	H. Croly; W. Lippman	NYC	Weekly	15¢	45,000[12]	3	3
The Pagan	May 1916-Nov. 1921	J. Kling; G. Munson; H. Crane	GV, NYC	Monthly	10¢	500[13]	17	1
Poetry	Oct.1912-	H. Monroe; A. C. Henderson; M. D. Zabel	Chicago	Monthly	20¢	1,600[14]	8	1
S4N	Nov. 1919-Jul. 1925	Norman Fitts[15]	Northampton, Mass.	Circular; Monthly; Quarterly	25¢	2,000[16]	2	0
The Saturday Review	Aug. 1924-Jun. 1986	Henry Seidel Canby; William Rose Benét	NYC	Weekly	10¢	20,000[17]	1	0

[9] Rainey, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"*, p. 91.

[10] Over *The Measure*'s publishing lifetime, the board included: Maxwell Anderson, Kenneth Slade Alling, Joseph Auslander, Louise Bogan, Padraic Colum, Agnes Kendrick Gray, Carolyn Hall, Robert Hillyer, Frank E Hill, David Morton, Louise Townsend Nicholl, George O'Neil, Pitts Sanborn, Genevieve Taggard, Louise Townsend, Winifred Welles, Elinor Wylie, Hervey Allen.

[11] D. D. Guttenplan, "*The Nation": A Biography*, unpaginated ebook.

[12] David W. Levey, *Herbert Croly and "The New Republic"*, p. 288

[13] Munson notes that Kling 'claimed' to have a circulation of 2,000 in 1918, but he, an editor at *The Pagan* during this time, is highly skeptical of this and suggests 500. See Munson, *Awakening Twenties*, p. 75.

[14] Brooker and Thacker in 'Circulation Figures for Selected Magazines' in *Modernist Magazines,* II*,* p. 17.

[15] *S4N* began as a circular with Fitts posting out copies of handwritten contributions. Though edited by Fitts, the board was crucial and was made up of Wayland Wells Williams, Ramon Guthrie, John Peale Bishop, Gorham B. Munson, E. E. Cummings, Thornton N. Wilder, Max Robin, Jean Toomer. Patrons of *S4N* included Ramon Guthrie, Sargent Lewis, Thornton N Wilder.

[16] Brooker and Thacker in 'Circulation Figures for Selected Magazines' in *Modernist Magazines,* II*,* p. 17.

[17] Eric Pace, 'Obituary for Norman Cousins', *The New York Times*, 1 December 1990. <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/12/01/obituaries/norman-cousins-75-dies-edited-the-saturday-review.html> accessed 27.08.16.

Secession	Apr. 1922-Winter 1924	G. B. Munson; M. Josephson; M. Cowley; K. Burke	Paris; Vienna; Reuter; NYC	Monthly; Quarterly	20¢	500[18]	3	1
transition	Apr. 1927- Spring 1938	E. Jolas; Elliot Paul	Paris	Monthly; Irregular	50¢/10f	4,000	13	0

Notes GV= Greenwich Village

[18] Munson, *Awakening Twenties,* p.167; Josephson recalls 300 in *Life Among the Surrealists,* p. 231.

Table 6. Periodical Publications 1916-1932

Journal	Date	Title	Volume details	Page No(s)
Bruno's Weekly	23 Sept.1916	C33	3.15	1008
The Pagan	Oct. 1916	To The Pagan	1.6	43
The Pagan	Nov-Dec. 1916	October-November	1.7-8	4
The Pagan	March 1917	The Hive	1.11	36
The Pagan	Apr-May 1917	Annunciations Fear	1.12/2.1	11 11
The Pagan	Oct-Nov. 1917	Echoes	2.5	39
The Pagan	Dec. 1917	The Bathers	2.8	19
The Little Review	Dec. 1917	In Shadow	4.8	50
The Pagan	Jan. 1918	Modern Craft	2.5	37
Bruno's Bohemia	March 1918	Carmen de Boheme	1.1	2
The Pagan	Apr-May 1918	Carrier Letter Postscript Editorial Note to a Patriotic Poem The Case Against Nietzsche Tragi-Comique (C)	2.12/3.1	20 20 28 34-5 54-56
The Little Review	July 1918	Joyce and Ethics	5.3	65
The Pagan	Aug-Sep. 1918	Forgetfulness	3.4	15
The Pagan	Jan. 1919	The Ghetto and Other Poems, review of Lola Ridge, *The Ghetto and Other Poems*	3.9	54-56
The Pagan	Feb. 1919	Minna and Myself, review of Maxwell Bodenheim, *Minna and Myself*	3.11	59
The Modern School	March 1919	To Potapovitch [sic] (de la Ballet Russe)	6.5	80
The Pagan	Sept. 1919	Book Review, review of Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg Ohio*	4.5	60-61
The Modernist	Nov. 1919	Interior Legende North Labrador	1.1	28 28 28
The Dial	April 1920	My Grandmother's Love Letters	68.4	457
The Little Review	Sep-Dec. 1920	A Note on Minns Garden Abstract	7.3	60 78
The Double Dealer	June 1921	Black Tambourine	1.6	232
The Double Dealer	July 1921	Sherwood Anderson	2.7	42-45
The Double Dealer	Aug-Sep. 1921	Porphyro in Akron	2.8-9	53
The Dial	Oct. 1921	Pastorale	71.4	422
The Measure	Oct. 1921	A Persuasion	1.7	14
The Gargoyle	Dec. 1921	Chaplinesque	1.6	24
The Double Dealer	May 1922	Locutions des Pierrots, trans Jules Laforgue	3.17	261
The Dial	June 1922	Praise for an Urn: To E.N	72.6	606
The Gargoyle	Aug. 1922	The Great Western Plains	3.2	24
The Gargoyle	Sept. 1922	The Fernery	3.3	19
The Little Review	Autumn 1922	To J.H.	9.3	39
The Little Review	Winter 1922	Anointment of our Well Dressed Critic or Why Waste the Eggs?	9.2	23
Secession	Jan. 1923	Poster ['Voyages I']	4	20
S4N	Mar-Apr. 1923	Eight More Harvard Poets	4. 25	12-14
S4N	May-Aug. 1923	America's Plutonic Ecstasies (social criticism)	4. 26-29	50-51
The Fugitive	Aug. 1923	Stark Major	2.8	120
S4N	Fall 1923	Sketch of Waldo Frank	5.30-31	4

Broom	Jan. 1923	The Springs of Guilty Song ['Faustus and Helen' part II]	4.2	131-32
Secession	Sept. 1923	For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen	6	1-4
Secession	Winter 1924	For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen	7	1-4
The Dial	March 1924	Briefer Mention: rev. Romer Wilson, *The Grand Tour* (N) Briefer Mention: rev. Thomas Moult, *The Best Poems of 1922* (N)	76.3	198 200
The Little Review	Spring 1924	Possessions Recitative	10.1	18 19
1924	July 1924	Sunday Morning Apples (To William Sommer) Interludium (To 'La Montagne' by Lachaise)	1.1	1 2
1924	Dec.1924	Voyages ['Voyages IV] Knitting Needles and Poppycock (N)	1.4	119 136-39
Aesthete, 1925	Feb. 1925	Chanson [?] (C)	1.1	N/A
The Fugitive	Sept. 1925	Legend Paraphrase	4.3	77 78
The Fugitive	Dec. 1925	Lachrymae Christi	4.4	102-03
The Little Review	Spring 1926	Voyages II, III, V, VI	12.1	13-15
The Dial	May 1926	Again	80.5	370
The Dial	Sept. 1926	Repose of Rivers	81.3	204
The Calendar of Modern Letters	July 1926	At Melville's Tomb Passage Praise for an Urn	3.1	105 106-7 108
Poetry	Oct. 1926	At Melville's Tomb A Discussion with Hart Crane	29.1	25 34-41
larus: the celestial visitor	March 1927	March	1.2	14
The Calendar of Modern Letters	Apr-Jul. 1927	Southern Cross National Winter Garden Virginia	4.1	107-08 109 110
transition	April 1927	O Carib Isle	1.1	101-02
transition	June 1927	Cutty Sark The Harbor Dawn: Brooklyn Heights	1.3	116-19 120-21
Poetry	Oct. 1927	Cutty Sark O Carib Isle	31.1	27-30 30-31
The Dial	June 1927	To Brooklyn Bridge	82.6	389-90
The Nation	29 June 1927	To Emily Dickinson	124.3234	718
The New Republic	10 Aug. 1927	Old Song	51.662	309
The American Caravan	Sept. 1927	Ave Maria	1	804
The Dial	Oct. 1927	Powhatan's Daughter ['The Dance']	83.4	329-32
transition	Oct. 1927	Van Winkle	1.7	129-29
The Criterion	Nov. 1927	The Tunnel	6.5	398-404
transition	Dec. 1927	East of Yucatan I: Island Quarry East of Yucatan II: Royal Palm East of Yucatan III: Overheard East of Yucatan IV: El Idiota East of Yucatan V: The Hour	1.9	132 133 134 135 136
The Dial	Feb. 1928	The Air Plant	84.2	140
The Dial	Sept. 1928	The Mermen	85.3	230
Second American Caravan	1929	The River	2	113-17
transition	Feb. 1929	Moment Fugue	1.15	102
The Dial	Feb. 1929	Caricature of Slater Brown	86.2	122
The Dial	April 1929	A Name for All	86.4	297

transition	June 1929	Proclamation	1.16-17	Back pages
transition	Nov. 1929	The Mango Tree	1.18	95
The Saturday Review	15 Mar. 1930	Cape Hatteras	6.34	821
Poetry	April 1930	Eldorado ['Indiana']	36.1	13-15
transition	June 1930	To the Cloud Juggler: In Memoriam Harry Crosby	1.19-20	223
Poetry	November 1930	To Brooklyn Bridge	37.2	108-09
The New Republic	29 July 1931	The Hurricane	67.869	277
La Exposición Siqueiros	Oct. 1931	Note on the Paintings of David Siqueiros	N/A	Unpaginated
Poetry	April 1932	From Haunts of Prosperine, review of James Whaler, *Green River*	40.1	44-47
The New Republic	8 June 1932	The Broken Tower[1]	71.914	91
Contempo	5 July 1932	Dear Contempo Bacardi Spreads the Eagle's Wings[2]	2.4	1 1

[1] Published posthumously but sent to Malcolm Cowley on the 27 March *OML*, pp. 516-17.
[2] Published posthumously but submitted on 11 March 1932, see 'Dear Contempo', *Contempo*, 2.4 (5 July 1932), p. 1.

Table 7. Rejections 1916-1932 [Arranged alphabetically by journal, then chronologically]

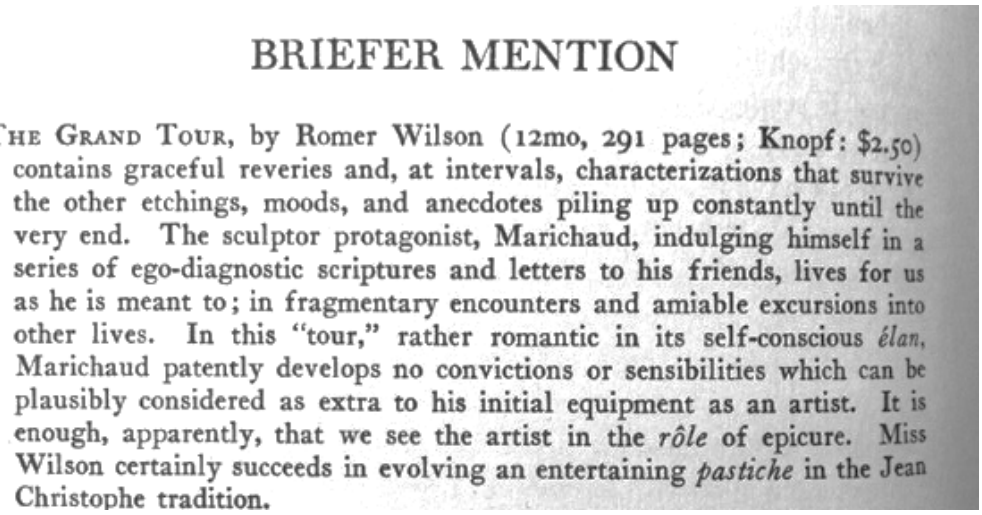
Journal	Title	Date	Source
1924	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
Aesthete, 1925	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The American Caravan	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
Broom	Chaplinesque	3 Nov 1921	Crane to Alfred Kreymborg, 3 November 1921, box 1, folder 13, Loeb/*Broom* Papers. Princeton.
Bruno's Bohemia	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
Bruno's Weekly	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Calendar of Modern Letters	Cutty Sark	19 March 1927	Rickword to Crane, 19 March 1926, box 7, Hart Crane Papers (New York).
	The Harbor Dawn	19 March 1927	Ibid.
	O Carib Isle	13 April 1927	Rickword to Crane, 13 April 1927, box 7, Hart Crane Papers (New York).
Contempo	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Criterion	The Air Plant	16 July [1923?]	Crane's note, 'As sent to *The Criterion*', on 'The Air Plant' MS, box 10, Crane Papers (New York). Crane to William Slater Brown, *OML*, pp. 206-207
	Passage	21 October 1925	Ibid., noted in S&S.
	The Wine Menagerie	21 October 1925	Crane to Waldo Frank, *OML*, p. 268.
	To Brooklyn Bridge	12 August 1926	
The Dial	Garden Abstract	25 May 1920	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, pp. 38-39.
	Porphyro in Akron	24 September 1920	Crane to Munson, *OML*, pp. 41-42.
	Black Tambourine	24 February 1921	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, p. 55. Noted in S&S.
	The Bridge of Estador	20 April 1921	Crane to Munson, *OML*, pp. 60-61. Noted in S&S.
	Two Watercolours	16 May 1921	Crane to Munson, *OML*, pp. 61-62. [Not included in overall rejection figures.]
	Chaplinesque	c. November 1921	Noted in S&S, p. 93. [Dated from *The Little Review* rejection.]
	Poster ['Voyages I']	19 July 1922	Crane to Allen Tate, *OML*, pp. 95-96. Noted in S&S.
	Faustus and Helen	6 February 1923	Crane to Munson, *OML*, pp. 122-24. Noted in S&S.
	Stark Major	15 February 1923	Crane to Tate, *OML,* pp. 129-30. S&S.
	Low Hung Whang	21 November 1923	Crane to Gilbert Seldes, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	Recitative	18 March 1924	Alyse Gregory to Crane, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	Belle Isle	18 March 1924	Ibid.
	Possessions	18 March 1924	Ibid.
	In a Court	18 March 1924	Ibid.
	Lachrimae Christi	18 March 1924	Ibid.
	Sunday Morning Apples	18 March 1924	Ibid.
	Passage	13 August 1925	Moore to Crane, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	At Melville's Tomb	10 December 1925	Moore to Crane, box 2, folders 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	Trough of Moon	14 January 1926	Moore to Crane, box 2, folder 50, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).

	Cutty Sark	28 October 1926	Moore to Crane, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	San Cristobal [Ave Maria]	27 November 1926	Ibid.
	The Harbor Dawn	17 December 1926	Ibid.
	To Emily Dickinson	17 December 1926	Ibid.
	Van Winkle	15 June 1927	Gratia Sharpe, to Crane, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	The River	14 July 1927	Burke to Crane, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	The Air Plant	10 August 1927	Moore to Crane, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
	The Tunnel	18 Oct. 1927	Moore to Crane, box 2, folder 49, *Dial*/Thayer Papers (New Haven).
The Double Dealer	Chaplinesque	c. Nov. 1921	Noted in S&S, p. 93. [Dated from *The Little Review* rejection.]
	Review of G. B. Shaw *Methuselah* (title unknown)	1 Oct 1921	Crane to Munson, *OML,* p. 108.
The Freeman	Garden Abstract	8 June 1920	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, p. 41.
Gargoyle	Garden Abstract	c. June 1920	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, p. 40.
	Black Tambourine	21 Nov. 1921	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, pp. 70-71.
Hound & Horn	The Tunnel	c. 1927.	Lincoln Kirstein, *Mosaic: Memoirs* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), p. 187.
larus: the celestial visitor	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Liberator	To Portapovitch	12 February 1919	Crane to Zigrosser, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
The Little Review	North Labrador	c. Autumn 1919	Noted in S&S, p. 101.
	My Grandmother's Love Letters	13 Dec. 1919	Crane, to Munson, *OML,* pp. 24-25. Noted in S&S
	Porphyro in Akron	c. Sept. 1920	Noted in S&S, pp. 103-04.
	The River	c. Summer 1927	Noted in S&S, p. 105.
	Voyages I	c. Summer 1922	Noted in S&S, p. 110. [Dated from *The Little Review* rejection.]
	Chaplinesque	21 Nov. 1921	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, p. 70. Noted in S&S.
The Masses	Voyages 2, 3, 5, 6	17 March 1926	To Munson, *OML*
The Measure	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Modernist	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Modern School	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Nation	The River	18 July 1927	Crane to Winters, *OML*, pp. 343-44.
The New Republic	Garden Abstract	8 June 1920	Crane to Munson, *Letters*, p. 41.
	Van Winkle	HC to AT 14 March 1927	Crane to Tate S&S, *OML*
	The Harbor Dawn	HC to AT 14 March 1927	Ibid. *OML*
New York Post Literary Review	Chaplinesque	c. Nov. 1921	Noted in S&S, p. 93. [Dated from *The Little Review* rejection.]
The Pagan	To Portapovitch	12 February 1919	Crane to Zigrosser, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers (Philadelphia).
Poetry	Moment Fugue	18 July 1928	Monroe to Crane, 18 July 1928, box 7, Crane Papers (New York).

S4N	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Saturday Review	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
Secession	Belle Isle	c. Jan. 1923	Crane to Munson, n.d., [c. January 1923], box 22, Crane/Munson Correspondence (Columbus).
transition	No known rejections	N/A	N/A
The Virginia Quarterly	The River	September 1927	*Virginia Quarterly* Editors, to Crane, 10 September 1927, box 11, folder 24, *Virginia Quarterly* Papers (Charlottesville).
	Southern Cross		Ibid.
	National Winter Garden		Ibid.
	Virginia		Ibid.

Appendix 2. Reproductions of previously undocumented works by Crane

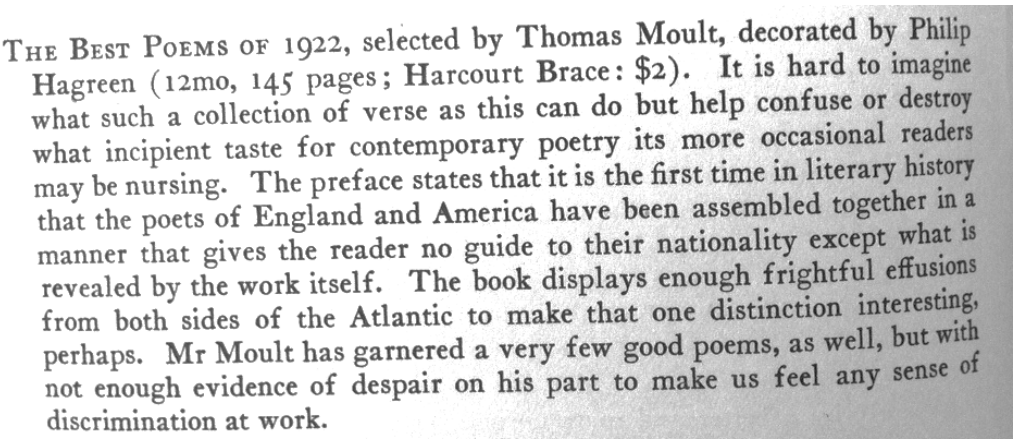
i. Crane, 'Briefer Mention: Romer Wilson, *The Grand Tour*', review of Romer Wilson, *The Grand Tour of Alphonse Marichaud* (1923), *The Dial*, 76.3 (March 1924), p. 198.



BRIEFER MENTION

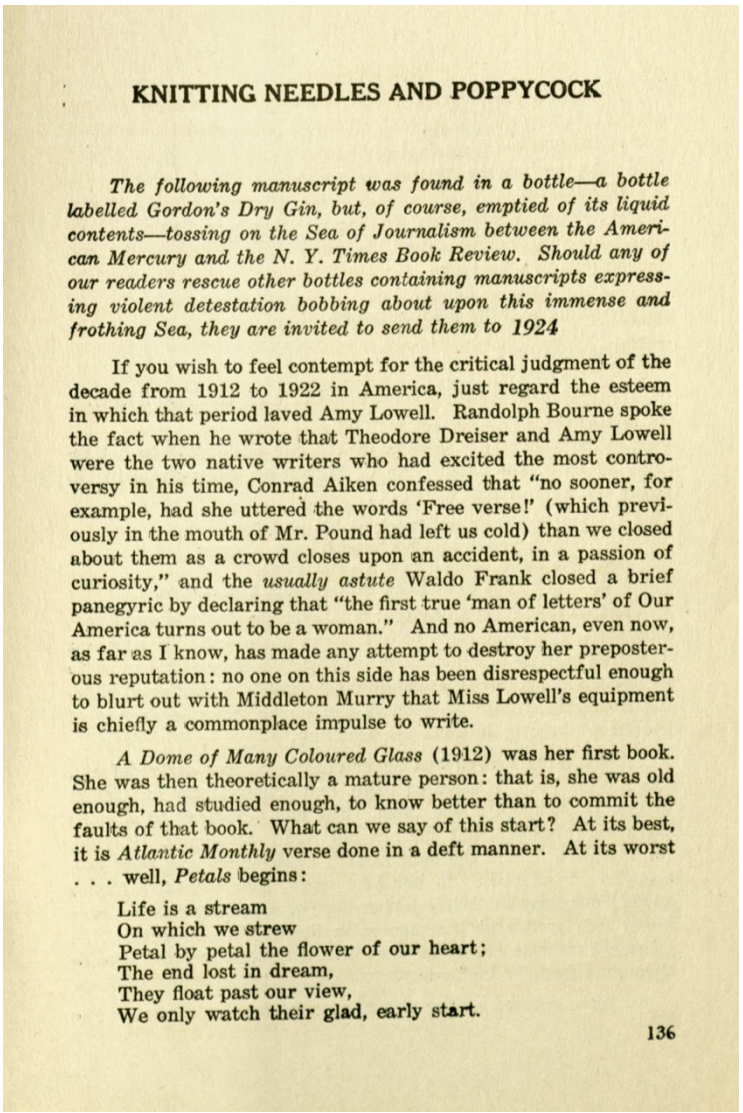
THE GRAND TOUR, by Romer Wilson (12mo, 291 pages; Knopf: $2.50) contains graceful reveries and, at intervals, characterizations that survive the other etchings, moods, and anecdotes piling up constantly until the very end. The sculptor protagonist, Marichaud, indulging himself in a series of ego-diagnostic scriptures and letters to his friends, lives for us as he is meant to; in fragmentary encounters and amiable excursions into other lives. In this "tour," rather romantic in its self-conscious *élan*, Marichaud patently develops no convictions or sensibilities which can be plausibly considered as extra to his initial equipment as an artist. It is enough, apparently, that we see the artist in the *rôle* of epicure. Miss Wilson certainly succeeds in evolving an entertaining *pastiche* in the Jean Christophe tradition.

ii. Crane, 'Briefer Mention: Thomas Moult, *The Best Poems of 1922*', review of Thomas Moult, *The Best Poems of 1922* (1923), *The Dial*, 76.3 (March 1924), p. 200.



THE BEST POEMS OF 1922, selected by Thomas Moult, decorated by Philip Hagreen (12mo, 145 pages; Harcourt Brace: $2). It is hard to imagine what such a collection of verse as this can do but help confuse or destroy what incipient taste for contemporary poetry its more occasional readers may be nursing. The preface states that it is the first time in literary history that the poets of England and America have been assembled together in a manner that gives the reader no guide to their nationality except what is revealed by the work itself. The book displays enough frightful effusions from both sides of the Atlantic to make that one distinction interesting, perhaps. Mr Moult has garnered a very few good poems, as well, but with not enough evidence of despair on his part to make us feel any sense of discrimination at work.

iii. Crane as 'Religious Gunman', 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock', *1924*, 1.4 (December 1924), pp. 136-39.



KNITTING NEEDLES AND POPPYCOCK

The following manuscript was found in a bottle—a bottle labelled Gordon's Dry Gin, but, of course, emptied of its liquid contents—tossing on the Sea of Journalism between the American Mercury and the N. Y. Times Book Review. Should any of our readers rescue other bottles containing manuscripts expressing violent detestation bobbing about upon this immense and frothing Sea, they are invited to send them to **1924**

If you wish to feel contempt for the critical judgment of the decade from 1912 to 1922 in America, just regard the esteem in which that period laved Amy Lowell. Randolph Bourne spoke the fact when he wrote that Theodore Dreiser and Amy Lowell were the two native writers who had excited the most controversy in his time, Conrad Aiken confessed that "no sooner, for example, had she uttered the words 'Free verse!' (which previously in the mouth of Mr. Pound had left us cold) than we closed about them as a crowd closes upon an accident, in a passion of curiosity," and the *usually astute* Waldo Frank closed a brief panegyric by declaring that "the first true 'man of letters' of Our America turns out to be a woman." And no American, even now, as far as I know, has made any attempt to destroy her preposterous reputation: no one on this side has been disrespectful enough to blurt out with Middleton Murry that Miss Lowell's equipment is chiefly a commonplace impulse to write.

A Dome of Many Coloured Glass (1912) was her first book. She was then theoretically a mature person: that is, she was old enough, had studied enough, to know better than to commit the faults of that book. What can we say of this start? At its best, it is *Atlantic Monthly* verse done in a deft manner. At its worst . . . well, *Petals* begins:

Life is a stream
On which we strew
Petal by petal the flower of our heart;
The end lost in dream,
They float past our view,
We only watch their glad, early start.

136

And then there is *Song*:

Oh! To be a flower
  Nodding in the sun,
Bending, then upspringing
  As the breezes run;
Holding up
A scent-brimmed cup,
  Full of summer's fragrance to the summer sun.

Oh! To be a butterfly
  Still, upon a flower,
Winking with its painted wings,
  Happy in the hour.
Blossoms hold
Mines of gold
  Deep within the farthest heart of each chaliced flower.

Et cetera, et cetera, ET CETERA.
Everywhere there are clichés, at the end children's poems reminding us of the superiority of Stevenson, somewhere in between the narrative of a fool . . .

But the maiden struck at his upraised arm
  And pelted him hotly with eggs, a score.
The mule, lashed into a fury, ran;
  The fool went back to his stone and swore.

Let us take it as an axiom: whatever the faults a good poet may have, there are some he has *never* possessed. To write on a certain level of excellence implies that it is impossible to write on certain much lower levels, and, conversely, a poet exemplifying a certain degree of badness can *never* attain a degree of goodness likely to interest the exacting.

Thus, Amy Lowell has never eradicated her early defects, has always been tethered to them, and consequently has failed to rise far enough above them. She has advanced to a more intricate verbalism, but she has not really developed. Rhyme, for instance, is still the banana skin upon which she slips into banality or silliness. In her best work, *Can Grande's Castle* (1918) she inserts: "They jabber over cheese, they chatter over wine, they gabble at the corners in the bright sunshine." . . . "The old moon is racing us, she slices through trees like a knife through cheese." Ineffable!

I have snorted at her worst, now let me try to assess her

best. In *Can Grande's Castle* she tries to work out an English equivalent to the polyphonic prose of Paul Fort. Fort based his form upon the alexandrine line and departures from that line. Miss Lowell found this too rigid: she based her form "upon the long, flowing cadence of oratorical prose" (but does she get this cadence?) and departed from it into vers libre and "regular" verse. This gave her an opportunity to play with rhyme, assonance, alliteration and return, and some of this play is subtle. Witness:

> The blue night softens the broken top of the column in the Piazzetta where it juts against the sky. The violet night sifts shadows over the white, munting angels of Saint Mark's Church; it throws an aureole of lilac over the star of Christ and melts it into the glittering dome behind.

What she achieved was mellifluous writing which was not however varied, which was not really heightened and lowered. She achieved an expression that was pictorial, pageant-like, decorative—and shallow. Her art is sensuous, but it carries very little intellect and very little emotion. She gives us some of the effects of music and painting, but what else? Conrad Aiken thinks too highly of Miss Lowell's poetry, but he rightly criticized *Can Grande's Castle*. Its pieces, he said, were too long for descriptive works. The narrative element was submerged unduly, and the pointillistic style produced color-blindness.

Basically, Amy Lowell is a sentimental esthete. That is, she substitutes for the emotions and urgencies of the true romantic merely the properties of romantic verse. But the true romantic used these properties as expressive circumstances for his original states of being. She on the other hand arrays in front of her mind her wax candles in dim rooms, her curious swords in forgotten shops, her quaint lorn gardens and then summons an excessive feeling toward these properties. The cart before the donkey! She reads too many books of history, she searches too much outside herself for subjects.

And yet in a land that has Frost and Robinson, Williams and Stevens, Kreymborg and Cummings, Pound and Eliot, she is still thought of as one of "our leading poets." May we not say in explanation to puzzled youngsters that her triumph is not the

triumph of an artist, but the triumph of a personality? Member of one of the few families in the United States that can boast of continuous distinction, wealthy, of imposing appearance with gracious countenance and delicate hands, addicted like George Sand to cigars, a day-sleeper and a night-worker, popular lecturer and publicity adept—it is little wonder that she has provoked our interest and amazement. But her books dispel our "passion of curiosity."

Religious Gunman.

TENNESSEE BLUES

I met her in Chicago and she was married
dance all day
leave your man Sweet Mamma and come away
manicured nails and kisses to dance all day all day
how it was sad

please Mr Orchestra play us another tune

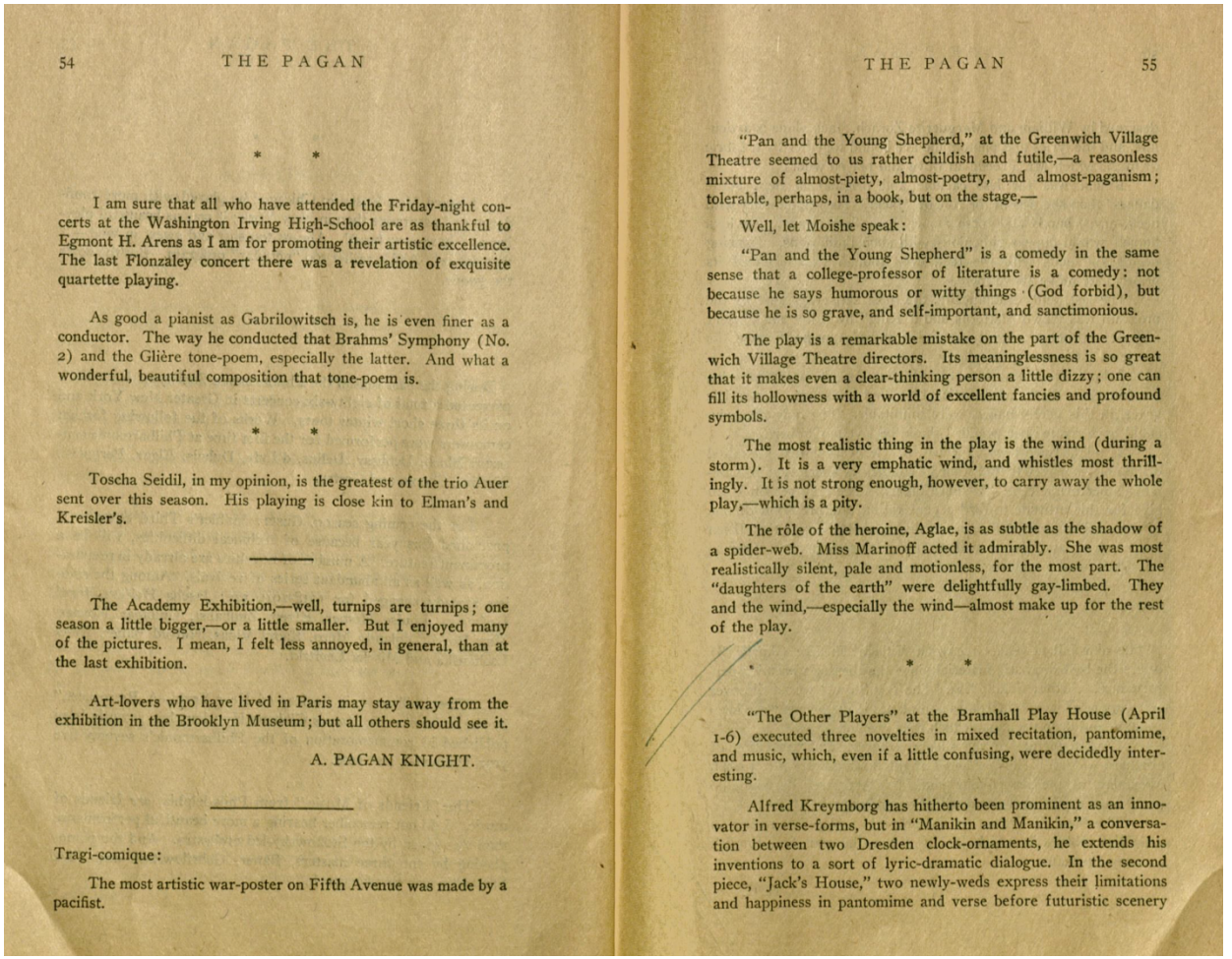
(for Daddy went and left me and left the cupboard bare
who will pay the butcher bill now daddy isn't there?)
shuffle your feet
(found another Daddy and he taught me not to care)
shuffle your feet, dance

dance among the tables, dance across the floor
take me by the arm and we'll go dancing out the door
Sweet Mamma anywhere through any door
wherever the banjos play is Tennessee

listen Mamma
my Sweet Mamma
take me by the hand we're going away.

Malcolm Cowley.

iv. ‘Crane, ‘Tragi-Comique’, *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), pp. 54-56.



* *

I am sure that all who have attended the Friday-night concerts at the Washington Irving High-School are as thankful to Egmont H. Arens as I am for promoting their artistic excellence. The last Flonzaley concert there was a revelation of exquisite quartette playing.

As good a pianist as Gabrilowitsch is, he is even finer as a conductor. The way he conducted that Brahms' Symphony (No. 2) and the Glière tone-poem, especially the latter. And what a wonderful, beautiful composition that tone-poem is.

* *

Toscha Seidil, in my opinion, is the greatest of the trio Auer sent over this season. His playing is close kin to Elman's and Kreisler's.

The Academy Exhibition,—well, turnips are turnips; one season a little bigger,—or a little smaller. But I enjoyed many of the pictures. I mean, I felt less annoyed, in general, than at the last exhibition.

Art-lovers who have lived in Paris may stay away from the exhibition in the Brooklyn Museum; but all others should see it.

A. PAGAN KNIGHT.

Tragi-comique:

The most artistic war-poster on Fifth Avenue was made by a pacifist.

"Pan and the Young Shepherd," at the Greenwich Village Theatre seemed to us rather childish and futile,—a reasonless mixture of almost-piety, almost-poetry, and almost-paganism; tolerable, perhaps, in a book, but on the stage,—

Well, let Moishe speak:

"Pan and the Young Shepherd" is a comedy in the same sense that a college-professor of literature is a comedy: not because he says humorous or witty things (God forbid), but because he is so grave, and self-important, and sanctimonious.

The play is a remarkable mistake on the part of the Greenwich Village Theatre directors. Its meaninglessness is so great that it makes even a clear-thinking person a little dizzy; one can fill its hollowness with a world of excellent fancies and profound symbols.

The most realistic thing in the play is the wind (during a storm). It is a very emphatic wind, and whistles most thrillingly. It is not strong enough, however, to carry away the whole play,—which is a pity.

The rôle of the heroine, Aglae, is as subtle as the shadow of a spider-web. Miss Marinoff acted it admirably. She was most realistically silent, pale and motionless, for the most part. The "daughters of the earth" were delightfully gay-limbed. They and the wind,—especially the wind—almost make up for the rest of the play.

* *

"The Other Players" at the Bramhall Play House (April 1-6) executed three novelties in mixed recitation, pantomime, and music, which, even if a little confusing, were decidedly interesting.

Alfred Kreymborg has hitherto been prominent as an innovator in verse-forms, but in "Manikin and Manikin," a conversation between two Dresden clock-ornaments, he extends his inventions to a sort of lyric-dramatic dialogue. In the second piece, "Jack's House," two newly-weds express their limitations and happiness in pantomime and verse before futuristic scenery

designed by William and Marguerite Zorach. Jack alone is articulate, and the lyrics and pantomime are bound together by a fabric of music which Mr. Freedman wove and played well.

Rihani was far less capable and original in her "static dances" than she was in the role of "Jack." As yet, dancing with neck, arms, hands and torso alone, seems inadequate. Pavlova herself would appear ridiculous with such limitations. Dancing begins and ends with the feet, even though two-thirds of its beauty may move above them.

The last, and, dramatically, the most satisfying part of the program was "Two Slatterns and a King" by Edna St. Vincent Millay. Although slightly reminiscent of Anatole France, its medieval satire was gratifying.

I don't know how versatile Marjory Lacy's acting may be, but her clear diction, dramatic poise, and above all, her satiric grace, in this performance, were inimitable. The only one who could have rivaled her would, I think, be Yvette Guilbert.

As might have been expected, nearly every journal, exalted or humble, managed to find some incriminatory aberration in Nazimova's performance of "Hedda Gabler." The only reason I can give for this attitude toward a penetrating interpretation of one of the world's greatest dramas, is the general disfavor that Ibsen has received, and always will receive in this country, so long as its "Pollyanna"-psychology survives.

* *

The new bill at The Greenwich Village Theatre (April 18) offers the best dramatic material since the theatre's premier performance. Arthur Schnitzler's "The Big Scene" would discover a few more of its subtle ironies and planes if the actors were keen enough, and deep enough,—which they are not.

"'Ile," a picture of the silence, solitude, and desolation of northern waters, is the best acted of the three plays. Mr. Joseph Macaulay, as the sea-captain, and Miss Margaret Farleigh, do good work as far as the limited action allows.

"The Maid of France" is not properly a play, but rather an articulate tableau in which Jeanne d'Arc, the war, and English cockney alternate.

H. C.

Appendix 3. Reproductions of uncollected works by Crane:

i. Crane and Moore, 'Again', *The Dial,* 80.5 (May 1926), p. 370.

each other. And yet they are not afraid. There is nothing against them: no yesterday, no to-morrow; time is destroyed.

And they flourish amidst the ruins.

He does not ask: "Your husband?"

She does not ask: "Your name?"

They have found each other in order to become a new generation, one in the other.

They will give each other a hundred names and take them off one after the other, gently, as you take off an ear-ring.

AGAIN

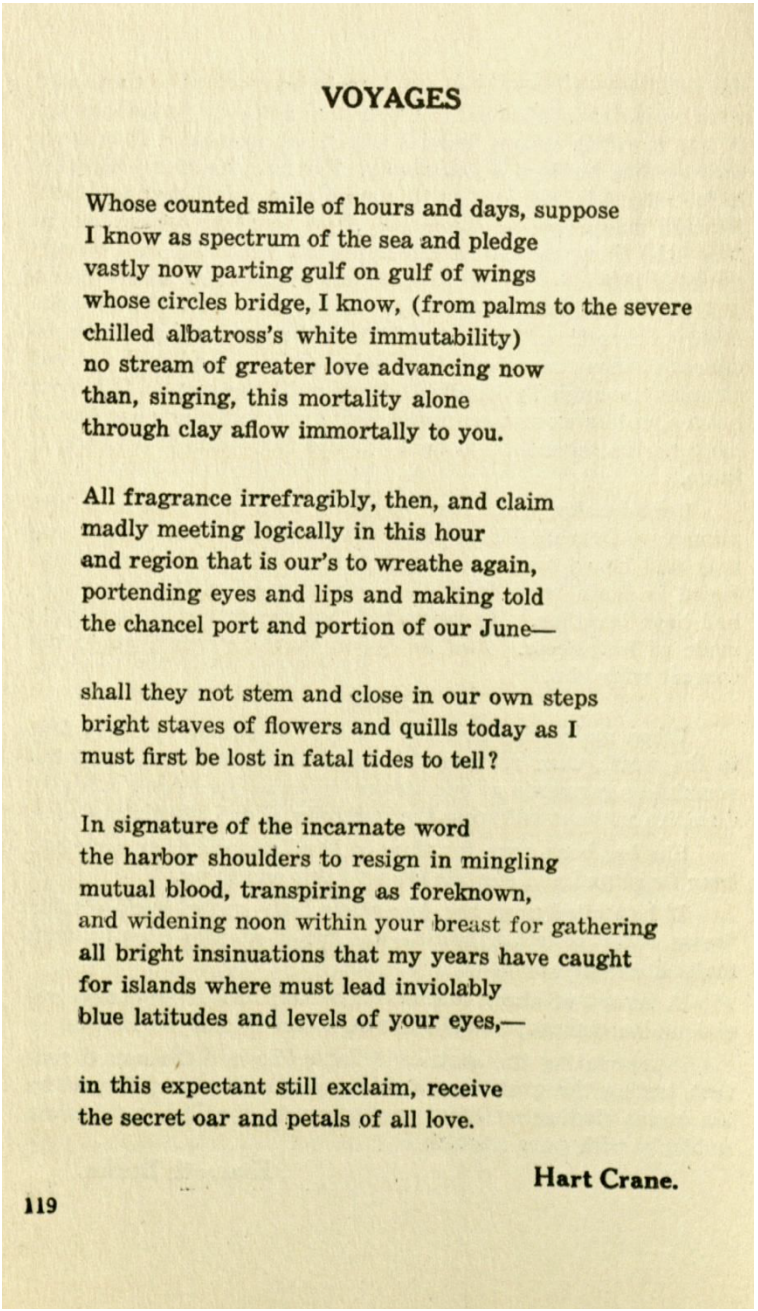
BY HART CRANE

What in this heap in which the serpent pries,
Reflects the sapphire transepts round the eyes—
The angled octagon upon a skin,
Facsimile of time unskeined,
From which some whispered carillon assures
Speed to the arrow into feathered skies?

New thresholds, new anatomies,
New freedoms now distil
This competence, to travel in a tear,
Sparkling alone within another's will.

My blood dreams a receptive smile
Wherein new purities are snared. There chimes
Before some flame a restless shell
Tolled once perhaps by every tongue in hell.
Anguished the wit cries out of me, "The world
Has followed you. Though in the end you know
And count some dim inheritance of sand,
How much yet meets the treason of the snow."

ii. Crane, 'Voyages', *1924*, 1.4 (December 1924), p. 119.



VOYAGES

Whose counted smile of hours and days, suppose
I know as spectrum of the sea and pledge
vastly now parting gulf on gulf of wings
whose circles bridge, I know, (from palms to the severe
chilled albatross's white immutability)
no stream of greater love advancing now
than, singing, this mortality alone
through clay aflow immortally to you.

All fragrance irrefragibly, then, and claim
madly meeting logically in this hour
and region that is our's to wreathe again,
portending eyes and lips and making told
the chancel port and portion of our June—

shall they not stem and close in our own steps
bright staves of flowers and quills today as I
must first be lost in fatal tides to tell?

In signature of the incarnate word
the harbor shoulders to resign in mingling
mutual blood, transpiring as foreknown,
and widening noon within your breast for gathering
all bright insinuations that my years have caught
for islands where must lead inviolably
blue latitudes and levels of your eyes,—

in this expectant still exclaim, receive
the secret oar and petals of all love.

Hart Crane.

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Appendix 4. Illustrations

Figure 1.
Pierre Bourdieu, 'French Literary field in the second half of the 19th century', *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), p. 49.

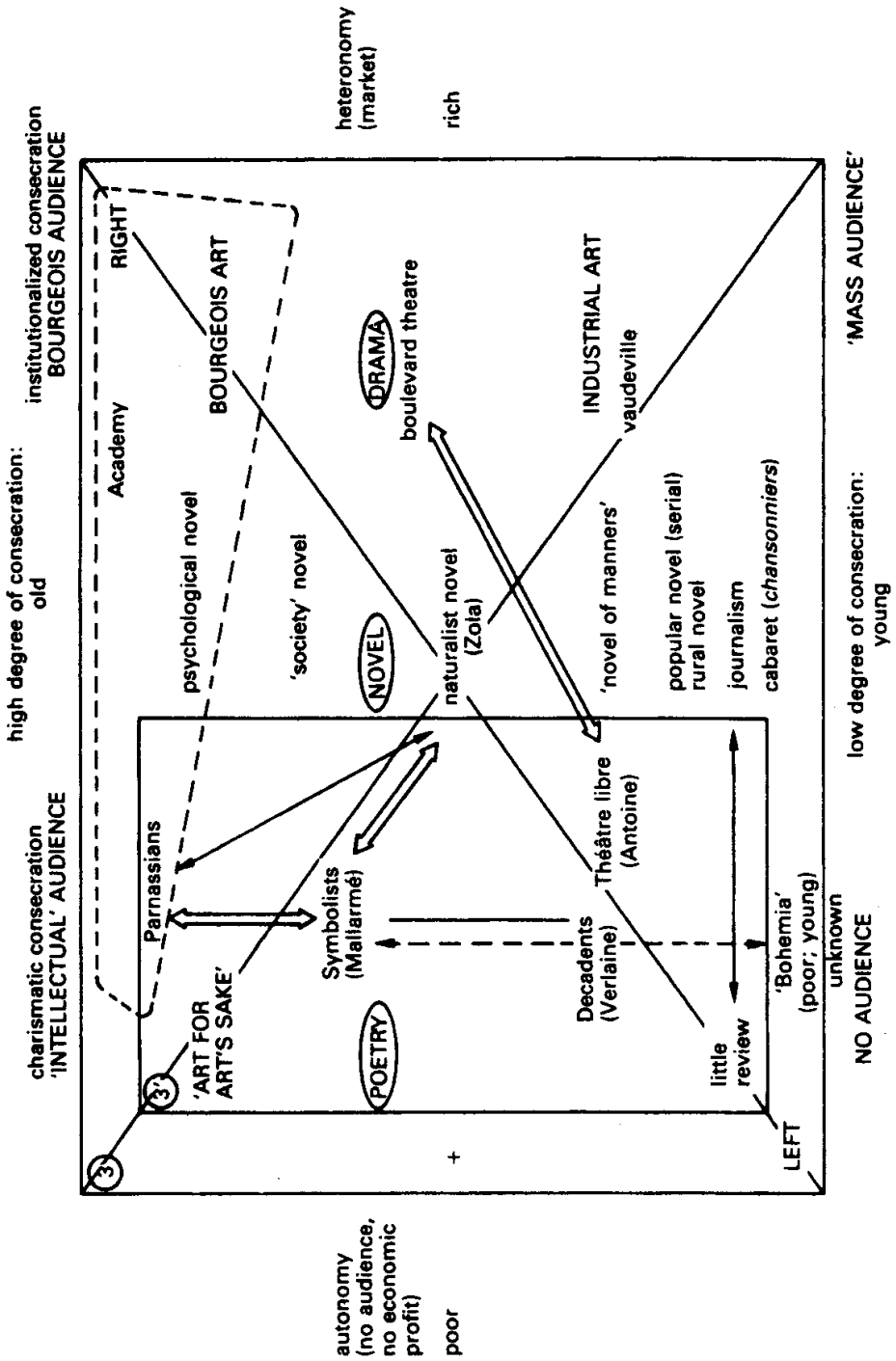

Figure 2.
J. B. Kerfoot, 'A Bunch of Keys', *291*, 1.3 (May 1915) back cover.

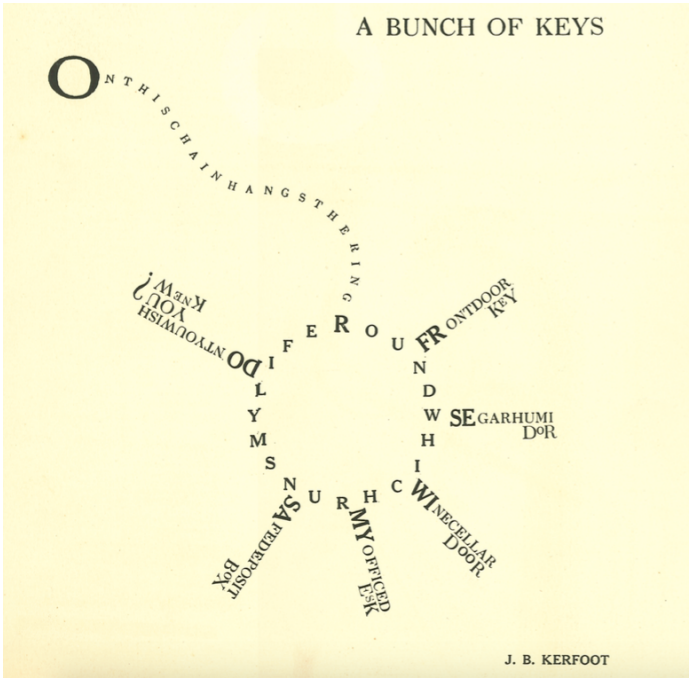

Figure 3.
Frontispiece, *Le Coeur à Barbe*, 1.1 (April 1922).

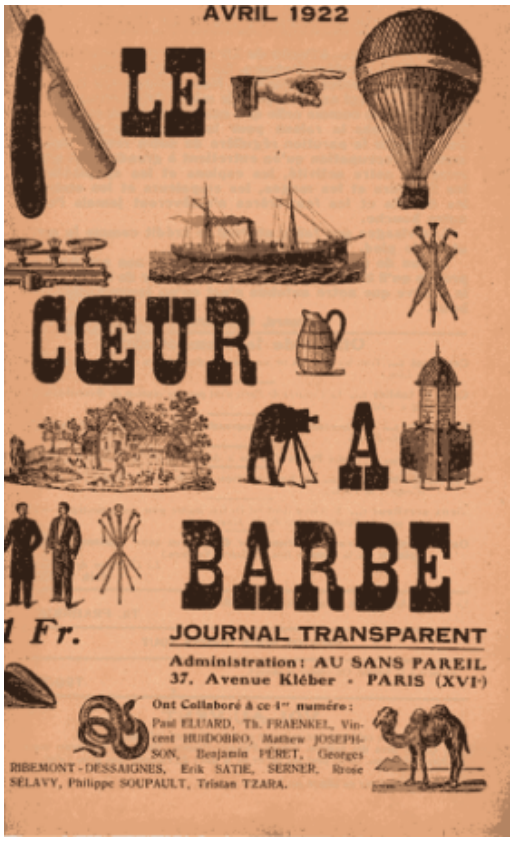

Figure 4.
William Sommer, *Untitled* [Still life with blue pitcher and apples], no date (c. 1923), oil on canvas, American Drawings and Paintings Collection, Princeton University Library.

Figure 5. Gaston Lachaise, *La Montagne,* 1924, bronze, partly with brown patina, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image via <http://metmuseum.org/exhibitions/view?oid=488457>accessed 10.10.16.

Figure 6.
Joseph Stella, *Study for a Skyscraper*, collage: reproduction, *The Little Review*, 9.3 (Autumn 1922), p. 32.

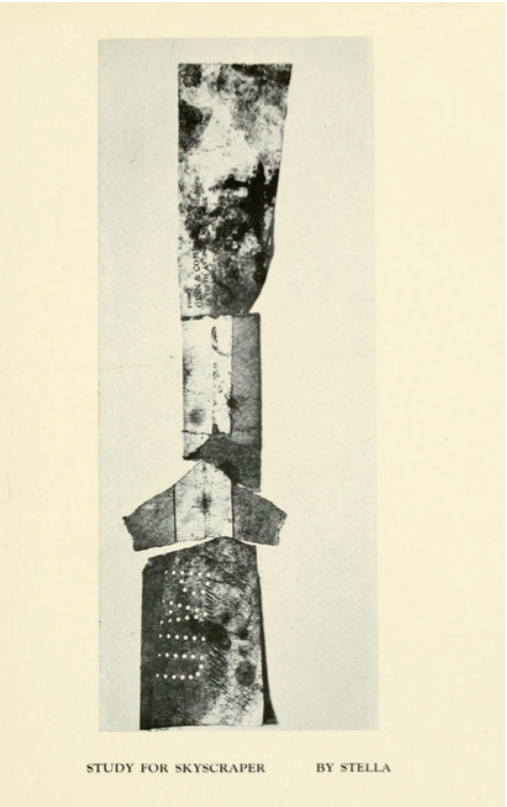

Figure 7.
Charles Sheeler, *Still Life*, crayon drawing: reproduction, *The Dial*, 80.5 (May 1926), p. 370.

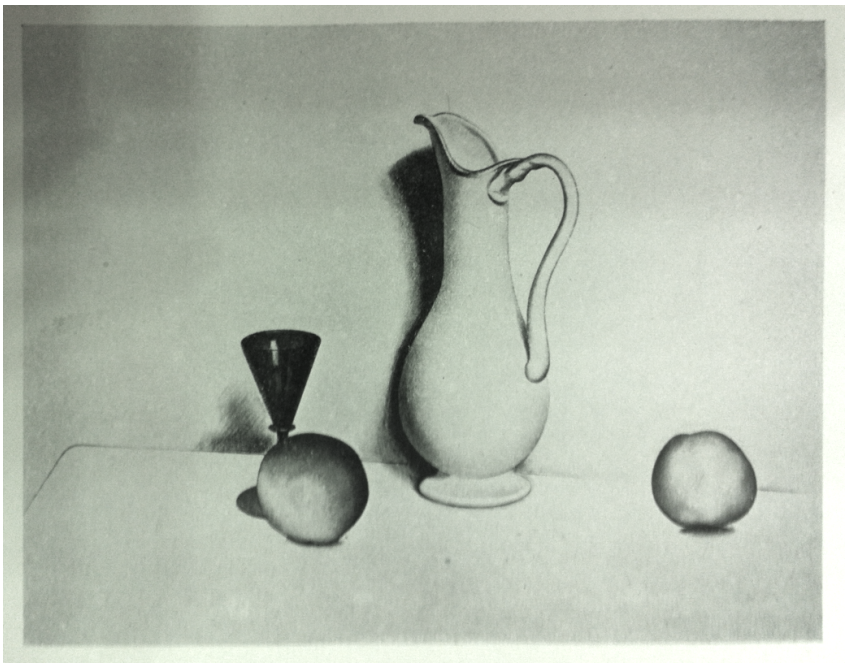

Figure 8.
Jacoba van Heemsbeck, *Landscape*, brush drawing: reproduction, *The Dial*, 81.3 (September 1926), p. 204.

Figure 9.
Henri le Fauconnier, *Georges Duhamel*, oil painting: reproduction, *The Dial*, 84.2 (February 1928), p. 140.

Figure 10.
Anton Hanak, *Exaltations,* marble sculpture: reproduction, *The Dial*, 85.3 (September 1928), p. 224.

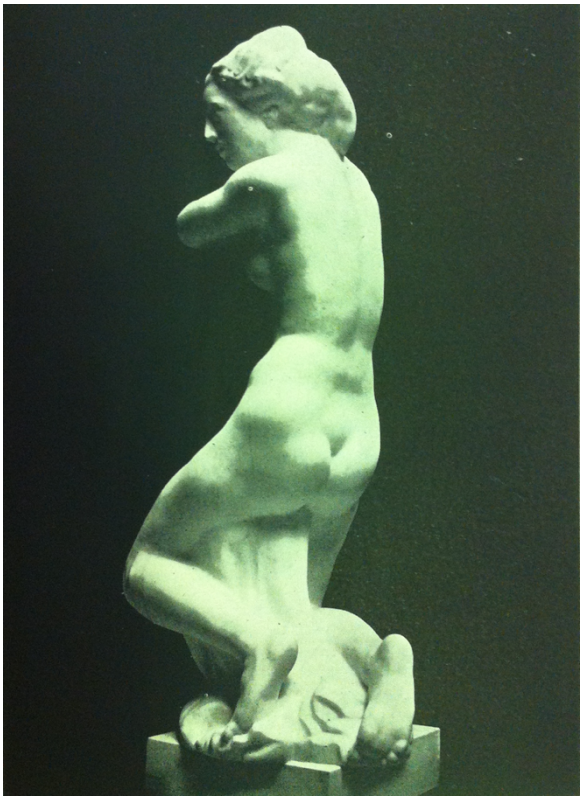

Figure 11.
George Kolbe, *Mermaid*, bronze sculpture: reproduction, *The Dial*, 72.6 (June 1922), p. 553.

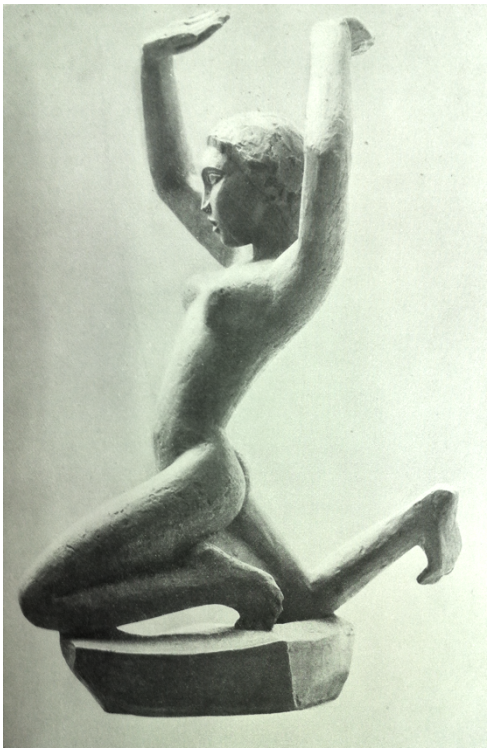

Figure 12.
Joseph Stella, *To Brooklyn Bridge*, oil painting: monochrome reproduction, *transition*, 1.16 (Spring-Summer 1929), p. 86.

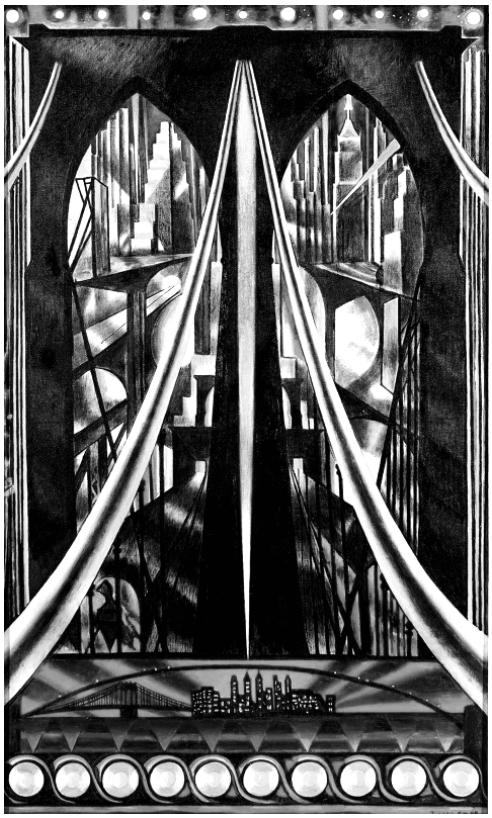

Figure 13.
Hart Crane, 'Image Circuit', to Otto Kahn, 10 April 1926, box 4, Crane Papers (New York).